

# THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—CATHOLIC PROGRESS IN THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

THE great Queen now passed into the ranks of the historic dead has already given her name to an epoch. Her reign, unlike that of her predecessor, Elizabeth, was not so much one of great actions as of great growth; not so much one of forceful purpose, carried through by strenuous effort, as of the achievement of ends unsought by men, but brought about by the unseen power that guides the wheels of destiny. For its chiefest glory, the extension of the British Empire, was accomplished not only irrespective of human design, but to a great extent in despite of it. The forces of expansion are, perhaps for that reason, also forces of cohesion; and the growth of individual members is an organic growth which binds them more closely together as parts of a mighty whole. The creation of the Dominion of Canada, and the recent incorporation of the Commonwealth of Australia, mark stages in a movement out of which will shape itself that new form of national polity, a Federated Empire.

Nor was the Sovereign whose name is synonymous with this latest interpretation of the Imperial idea a mere ceremonial figure, presiding over the progress of events in which she had no substantial part. On the contrary, the

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added function of the Crown, which lends such increase to its dignity and power as the centre of an ecumenical loyalty never before witnessed in history, is the direct product of her magnetic personality. It was the rare strength and fineness of a nature, perfected with every added year of life, which made her the living and human heart of her Empire, and drew to her the reverential love of a fifth of the human race. No position ever held by any potentate on earth was comparable to that of the venerable Mother of her people when she laid down her completed task after sixty-three years spent in its accomplishment. The tears of a weeping world proclaimed her reign a reign of love, and its supreme boast the homage of the hearts of her subjects.

We, as Catholics, have especial reason to bless the Victorian age for the large share of benefits it has conferred on us. Although the Act of political enfranchisement for Catholics was passed before the late Queen's accession, it was during her reign that its fruits were garnered to a harvest which is ripening still. And history will count as not the least among the events of her golden years, the establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, and the great revolution of opinion known as the Oxford Movement. Both form landmarks in the course of that moral progress without which mere material progress is but an ephemeral and unsubstantial show.

Some presentiment of the happier future in store for them seems, in the minds of her Catholic subjects, to have heralded Queen Victoria's advent to the throne, for we find the following passage in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW immediately subsequent :

Since the above was written, the news has reached us of the death of His Majesty William the Fourth. Be his good qualities now alone remembered, his errors forgotten, he was the best of his race that have worn the crown ; the only one, indeed, who, when on the throne, displayed zeal for the interests and happiness of his subjects. His youthful successor has with her the wishes, the hopes, and the hearts of this mighty Empire, and they are but her due. Bright and fair as her prospects and herself, are expectations now blossoming in the bosom of every true Irishman ;



and the justice they have been so long denied will come, "blessing both the giver and the receiver," and doubly sweet from the hands of her whom they regard with deep respectful affection and love. Doubt and fear and every desponding and bad feeling are now cast aside. The people of the United Empire know that the young Queen has inherited all the virtues of her truly-lamented father, and the careful education she has received from her excellent mother, with all they as yet know of herself, gives a strong and cheering confidence that a brighter time has arrived than ever yet these countries knew, and that peace, liberty, and happiness will mark and bless the reign of Victoria.

The measure in which these good auguries have been fulfilled would, we imagine, have astonished those who uttered them, and in no respect more than in the change it was to make in the position of her Catholic subjects. Barely emerging on her accession from the shadow of legislative proscription, they were still under the ban of social ostracism, as members of a small and obscure sect, adhering to the formulas of an old-world religion whose worship lingered in holes and corners of the land.

Catholics in England [to quote another writer in the DUBLIN REVIEW] then consisted only of a number of highly respected old families (mostly leading retired lives) with their chapels and chaplains, together with a scanty population in a few towns and villages.

To the same effect, but in a still more depreciatory tone, wrote Mr. Froude :

The Catholic religion [he said] hung about some few ancient English families like a ghost of the past. They preserved their creed as an heirloom which tradition, rather than conviction, made sacred to them. A convert from Protestantism to Popery would have been as great a monster as a convert to Buddhism or Odin worship. "Believe in the Pope!" said Dr. Arnold, "I would as soon believe in Jupiter!"

Yet it was one of the many ironies of the subsequent revulsion of feeling that the son of the man who made this enlightened remark died a fervent Catholic.

The social stigma of recent penal legislation still

oppressed Catholics, and the timidity of a little flock cowed by persecution impelled them to shrink from publicity, and to practise their religion with as little ostentation as possible. Their places of worship, invariably called chapels, even in Ireland, where they were frequented by the majority, consisted generally of a single room in a back street, where Mass was said without any of the ecclesiastical pomp and ceremony we now associate with Catholic ritual. Any sort of architectural pretension in the aspect of these little hidden sanctuaries was considered quite out of place.

About the year 1834 [wrote Father Amherst, in an article on Frederick Lucas in the DUBLIN REVIEW for October, 1886] a "chapel" with a tower was built at Redditch, in Warwickshire, through the munificence of Mr. Tunstall, a Catholic gentleman. For several years afterwards this was always alluded to in the Midland counties as an extraordinary event, as something which showed that Catholics were beginning to hold up their heads; and the tower, it was said, really entitled the building to be called a church.

The incredible bigotry and ignorance of the population rendered this retiring attitude prudent, if not necessary. The passions of the mob were inflamed by denunciations of Popery at meetings in Exeter Hall under the auspices of the Protestant Association, and by publications such as the *Protestant Journal*, the organ of the same Society. The spirit in which the latter periodical set about promoting what it called "Protestant Christianity" may be judged from the following programme:

We wage relentless and persevering war against Popery. The more we have witnessed of its nature as a spiritual slavery and iron despotism, the more we are convinced—and that conviction grows with our growth and strengthens with our strength—that it is the curse of our land and the scourge of our Church. We shall never cease our warfare until it be accomplished in the blight of every hope and the ruin of every scheme that the emissaries of Rome delight in; and when life shall wane we shall bring our little ones to the altars of our common country, and swear them—as they value a blood-bought redemption, as they prize the inheritance of light and glory, as they cherish the weal of their native land, as they love their happy homes and altars free, as they revere the ashes of their martyred

fathers who glorified God amid the fires—to resist the progress of Popery to the death; and in death to grave upon every cherished altar, and to inscribe upon every tomb, and to emblazon upon every banner—

Delenda Roma! No peace with Rome!

We will spare it neither in the camp nor in the hall, neither in the hovel nor in the palace; wherever it shall, serpent like, insinuate its gyry folds, it cannot but leave its slime behind it; and war, war, ceaseless and relentless war, we shall wage against it, whether it basks in the sunshine of a Court or interweaves itself among the gems of a sparkling coronet; whether it lurks in the councils of the great, or displays itself in the voices of the Senate; whether it roams along the green and sunny fields of palmy and beautiful England or riots amidst the burning passions of afflicted Ireland: still shall our warfare continue till either we or Rome shall be no more!

This tirade, worthy of the columns of the *Eatonswill Gazette*, would not be worth quoting save as an index to the state of public opinion when it could be taken as a serious utterance, the battle-cry of aggressive Protestantism on the war-path.

Calumny dies hard, and the falsehoods propagated at the time of the Reformation, to justify the suppression and plunder of the monasteries, survived far into the reign of Victoria. An amusing instance of the traditional horror of Catholic nuns was afforded at the meeting of the General Assembly in Edinburgh in 1837, the year of her accession. Reference was made to the recently published "Statistical Account of Glasgow," in which the consecration of St. Margaret's Nunnery was called "an interesting and affecting ceremony." A resolution was passed to have this "abominable note" expunged from the work, and the speakers, after expressing their "abhorrence and disgust" at its insertion, declared themselves willing, personally, to bear the expense of its suppression rather than that it should remain in circulation.

So strong was the feeling against them that the angelic Sisters of Charity were driven out of Manchester by the insults and outrages of the mob, after having established themselves there in 1847 on the most modest scale, on the

invitation of Mr. Daniel Lee, a leading Catholic citizen. At the end of many years the change in public feeling enabled them to return and settle in the most turbulent district, where they soon made their influence felt.

At first [remarked, in 1890, the inspector of the nearest police station] they seemed to make no impression, but during the last six months the night charges at this station have diminished 50 per cent. We must attribute the change mainly to the influence of the Sisters.

When their premises became too small, a meeting was convened in the Town Hall, that all the citizens might come to their assistance, which they did without distinction of creed.

The heroism and devotion of the Sisters of Mercy in the Crimea opened the way for the appearance of the religious garb in the streets of the metropolis, and that through the chivalry of the soldiers aroused on their behalf. When the commanding officer of a regiment, landed at Portsmouth on its return from the war, desired a little group of Sisters to walk at its head, a disastrous encounter between troops and people was narrowly escaped. The crowd having jeered at the nuns, the infuriated soldiers pointed their loaded rifles at them, and it required some conciliatory tactics to avert a catastrophe. Later on, when the Sisters came to settle at Westminster, the Guards constituted themselves their champions, and on their first appearance in the street they were seen with a stalwart policeman on one side, and a no less stalwart member of the Household Brigade on the other. The subsequent half-century has seen this prejudice lived down, with many others.

The Church in those early Victorian days might have seemed, by its very weakness and paucity of numbers, secured against the manifestations of such violent animosity. It had had its three centuries in the Catacombs, but there was nothing to show that it was about to step forth into the light of day. There was at that time no Catholic Hierarchy, England being governed as a province of the Holy See by four vicars. The number of priests in Great Britain aggregated no more than 567, of whom 73 were in Scotland, and of churches, chapels, and stations there were

502. The religious orders were sheltered in only 20 houses, 1 north and 19 south of the Tweed. The London district, with a Catholic metropolitan population of 200,000, had no more than 4 convents and 105 priests, Middlesex but 20, and Surrey 7 chapels or churches. The Archdiocese of Westminster alone has now 124 churches, chapels, and stations; 353 priests, and 111 convents, including branches, of both sexes. The statistics of the "Catholic Directory for 1901" show, in skeleton form, the mere external growth of the Church by comparison with the earlier figures. The Hierarchy of England and Wales consists of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, with 15 bishops of suffragan sees, with a bishop-coadjutor at Plymouth, and bishops-auxiliary at Westminster, Hexham, and Newcastle.

In Scotland there are the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, with three suffragan bishops, the See of Dunkeld being vacant; and the Archbishop of Glasgow, with a bishop-auxiliary. There are also in England one archbishop and two bishops of titular sees who are not included in the above summary. Under these are the 3,298 priests of Great Britain. Of these, 308 are of the secular clergy, 990 of the regular clergy. Of the secular priests, 152 are invalided, retired, or unattached; and among the regulars many are in colleges, novitiates, or houses of study. They serve a total of 1,886 churches, chapels, and mission stations, which number is exclusive of those not open to the public.

While there were in 1837 scarce 50 Catholics in both Houses of Parliament, there are now 41 Catholic peers and 77 Catholic members of the House of Commons, 73 from Ireland and 4 from Great Britain. Of other dignitaries, we reckon 15 Catholic lords who are not peers, 52 Catholic baronets, 26 Catholic knights, and 17 Catholic members of the Privy Council. Meantime, the Catholic population of Great Britain has grown, according to various estimates, from no more than 60,000 at the close of the eighteenth century to close on 2,000,000—1,500,000 for England and Wales and 365,000 for Scotland.

Some interesting statistical tables are contained in an essay on "The Position of the Catholic Church in England and Wales during the Last Two Centuries," published by

the Fifteen Club in 1892, and summing up the progress of the Church from the establishment of the Hierarchy to the year 1890. The figures given show that, while the general population had increased during the period by some 60 per cent., the progress of the Church was represented by an increase of 300 per cent. in priests and 132 per cent. in churches. The greatest advance under the first heading was in the diocese of Liverpool, where there was an addition of 308 to the number of priests, though only of 76 to that of churches. Westminster came next with the figures of 244 and 83 respectively. In the words of a Pastoral issued in April, 1891, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster: "The old London Vicariate of eight counties forty years ago had only 187 priests. The three dioceses sprung from it have now 702, and yet each year we need more." Southwark, had Portsmouth not been severed from it, would have been second on the list, as its old area showed an increase of 177 additional priests and 127 churches.

Pursuing the analysis further [says the writer] we have exactly three times the number of priests we had in 1851. To the number we then had are added exactly that total multiplied by two. The churches, as above stated, have been increased 130 per cent. In other words, where forty years ago the Catholics had one priest there are now three, where they had three churches we have now seven.

To sum up the gain of the reign. Where, in 1837, there were 302 churches, in 1901 there are 1,886; where 567 priests, there are 3,326; and where 23 religious houses, 868.

But such as these figures mean, they are but the scaffolding on which to build up to the mind's eye the presentation of the facts they epitomise. They form the visible symbols of a great moral change, through the action of which Catholic ideas and Catholic influences have become an integral part of the national life, and are beginning to penetrate it at all points and in all directions. So far from any social stigma or stamp of political inferiority being now attached to the profession of the ancient Faith, its adherents are everywhere admitted to equal participation in the

administration of public affairs, and its claims to benevolent treatment on the part of authority are recognised as at least of equal validity with those of other sects. In the streets, where sixty years ago the appearance of a priest or nun was the signal for a riot, Catholic processions now pass between respectful crowds with more freedom than is accorded to them in many Catholic countries. The sympathetic attitude of the public is all the more important in a country where opinion is not only the index, but the driving force of political action.

The two great factors mainly instrumental in bringing about this revolution were the Oxford Movement and the creation of the Catholic Hierarchy. Parallel in tendency, and nearly simultaneous in occurrence, their combined momentum carried the hands which record the evolution of thought through a great arc on the dial-plate of progress. The publication of the "Tracts for the Times" had begun to convulse religious opinion in England when Dr. Wiseman, in the Lent of 1835, started his polemical campaign with a series of lectures in the Sardinian Chapel, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The date is a memorable one, for it was the first of that succession of events which resulted fifteen years later in the new ecclesiastical constitution given to England by the Papal Brief, creating the English Hierarchy with the Metropolitan See of Westminster, and twelve suffragan sees. The elevation to the rank of Cardinal of Dr. Wiseman, simultaneously with his nomination as the first Archbishop of Westminster, gave added solemnity to the step which, under the name of the "Papal Aggression," called forth an unparalleled outburst of fury in England. It is strange now to remember that Cardinal Wiseman's life was thought to be in actual danger from the populace of London, that Catholics in the country sent their children to the houses of Protestant neighbours for protection, and that the Pope was burned in effigy in every parish through the length and breadth of the land. Timorous Catholics condemned the move as inopportune, and predicted evil consequences in the slackening of the tide of conversions. The answer came in the increase in their numbers during immediately succeeding years. The ebullition of the



moment was lived down, and the added dignity and importance conferred on the Church told gradually and insensibly on public opinion. To this end the policy of the new Archbishop assisted. His aim was publicity instead of effacement, and one of his sayings was, that if he could placard the words "Catholic Church" on every street corner, he would gladly do so.

The time was ripe for this bolder course, since its way had been prepared by that revolt against Protestantism in the bosom of the Church of England itself, which has so entirely dominated the religious history of the last half-century. Initiated four years before the accession of the Queen, by a little band of revolutionary thinkers at Oxford, it reached a crisis in its development during the year of the Papal Aggression, in the defeat of the High Church party on a vital point of Christian belief. The celebrated Gorham judgment, declaring baptismal regeneration an open question, and substituting the authority of the Crown for that of the Bishops in deciding on the orthodoxy of candidates for ordination, struck at the very foundations of belief, and drove a number of the most spiritually-minded Anglicans into the Church of Rome. Five years earlier, indeed, Newman's secession had dealt the Church of England that blow "under which she still reels," and many had accompanied him in his change of faith; but the bulk of the Ritualists had until then clung to the hope that the English Establishment might be so raised and purified from within as to be once more a living branch of the true Church. The second surge of the following tide was therefore deeper and more continuous than its first. How large has been the gain of the Church from this movement of individual conversion, was shown by a writer in the *Tablet* on its Golden Jubilee on May 27th, 1890. After enumerating among its gifts the two first English Cardinals and Father Faber, he goes on :

The salt of the earth, they have made fruitful a land they found barren: bishops like Coffin of Southwark, Patterson of Amycla, Wilkinson of Hexham; heads of orders, and superiors of communities, and chiefs of large churches, such as Father Sebastian Bowden at the Oratory, Father



Lockhart at St. Etheldreda's, Father Purbrick among the Jesuits, Mgr. Moore at the Pro-Cathedral, Father Kirk at St. Mary of the Angels, Father Bampffield at Barnet; preachers and teachers like Anderdon, Coleridge, Rivington, Garside, Stevenson, Macmullen, Maskell, Oakeley, Ornsby, Tickell, Richards, Akers, Christie, Morris, Bridgett, and Porter (afterwards Archbishop of Bombay). But our columns might be filled and good names left behind.

Not in the ecclesiastical world alone have these men manned us. From Lucas down to Rankin, every editor of this paper was a convert—the record being broken by the present occupant of their chair. The DUBLIN REVIEW reached its zenith under a convert, Dr. W. G. Ward; the *Month* and *Merry England* have, so far as we remember, known no others as editors. The Catholic publishing firms have a similar derivation: Mr. Burns was a convert, and so was Mr. Oates; so is Mr. Washbourne. The Secretary of the Catholic Union is a convert; so is one of the Secretaries of the Truth Society; so is the founder of the Guild of our Lady of Ransom, Father Fletcher; and so is his right-hand man, Mr. Lister Drummond; so, too, is [was] the leading spirit of St. Anselm's Society; and so the Secretary of the Poor School Committee, Mr. Allies.

It would be easy to enlarge the list, and to go through the categories of art and literature, of rank and social leadership, to perceive how through the agency of individual conversions Catholicism is beginning to colour all these departments of national life.

The very streets of London bear witness to the same effect. Where, in pre-Victorian days, the lamp of the sanctuary burned before hidden altars, shrinking from public gaze in by-streets and back alleys, Catholic churches are now so numerous and so conspicuous as to be an architectural feature of the metropolis. Surpassed in imposing aspect among Protestant churches only by the two great cathedrals, the third Oratory, superseding predecessors successively enlarged with the growth of their congregations, is one of the recognised sights of London, and the statue of our Lady, lifted high above the busy thoroughfare, dominates one of its most fashionable quarters. The Church of the Carmelites, the Pro-Cathedral, and the

newly enlarged Servite Church of the Seven Dolours, are so many centres of Catholic congregations whose requirements are constantly growing. But all these are thrown into the shade by the great monument of the Catholic revival, the splendid structure of the Westminster Cathedral, time's restitution to the people of London and the Catholic Church of the metropolitan position wrested from them with their ancient Abbey. And as the first was the gift of the last Saxon Edward, we may hope that the completion of the second in the opening year of the first of the present dynasty to bear his name, may be a link between the elder and the later England of symbolic significance for the future.

In the other great English cities the increase in the number of Catholics has been not less astonishing than in London.

About the middle of the last century [said Cardinal Moran, in his inaugural address at the Australian Catholic Congress] there was only one small chapel in Manchester, and about six families assisted there at Mass. A little later it was replaced by another and larger building, without, however, any outward pretensions or even semblance of religious architecture. This was the only place of Catholic worship in the city, and for twenty miles around Manchester, with the exception of the private chapel of the Trafford mansion. In the year 1790 the whole number of Catholics in Manchester was less than 600, while those in Salford were only about 100. At the present day there are 80,000 Catholics in Manchester, and 25,000 in Salford. As late as 1838 there were but 4 churches in Manchester and 10 priests. There are now 24 churches and 70 priests. The development has been still more rapid in Liverpool, where in 1838 there were 5 churches and 14 priests, while now there are 34 churches and 127 priests. Lancashire was the representative and most populous Catholic district of England. The increase of the Catholics was already regarded as marvellous, when in 1804 they were reckoned at 50,000. They now number at least 600,000.

In Glasgow at the beginning of the century there were practically no Catholics, and their only place of worship was a little disused building served by one priest. The vice and misery, as well as the absence of all religious teaching in

the great Scotch towns at the opening of her late Majesty's reign, would be incredible were it not officially vouched for. The Report of a Royal Commission published in 1837, on the religious condition of Scotland, contains some startling evidence on the state of the lower classes in Edinburgh.

I have seen much wretchedness in my time [said the Rev. Dr. Lee], but never have I seen such a concentration of misery as in that (the Old Church) parish. There are a great many Irish in it, and some of them are most wretched, but by far the most wretched are the Scotch. Within the last week I have been in a house where there were seven in the family—a mother, five daughters, and another girl—who seemed to lodge with them, and there was neither chair nor table, stool, bed, or blanket in the house, nor any kind of implement or utensil for cooking; all of them, on a cold and stormy day, sitting round a fire containing not more coals than I could hold in my hand. . . . Day after day I have seen the most affecting instances of the extremes of destitution. In one day I have been in seven houses where there was no bed, and in some of them not even straw in place of it.

Some frightful instances of depravity are said in the Report to be vouched for by the evidence, and a large portion of the people are described as addicted to habits which render them insensible to every feeling, either of religion or morality. We can infer from these statements how great has been the general social and moral, as well as religious progress during the reign.

In the great business of education, the Church, with narrowly limited means, has played its part nobly, keeping pace not only with the growth of population, but with the accelerated rate of modern progress. Catholic schools, which in 1821, according to official statistics, numbered no more than 14, and in 1851, the year after the restoration of the Hierarchy, but 166, had increased in 1890 to 946, and are now reckoned at 1,100 with 300,000 Catholic children. Their efficiency is shown in the steady increase of the Government grant; and their economy, as compared with Board schools, by their success in passing a nearly equal percentage of pupils at less than half the cost per head—the figures

being £1 10s. 9d. and £3 3s. 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. The progress of higher education may be measured by the increase in the number of Catholic colleges since 1840, from 9 in England and 1 in Scotland to 54 and 4 respectively. The growth in the figures of Catholic students in these institutions is proportionately even larger than the multiplication of their number. The disputed question of the advisability of the attendance at the English universities of Catholic students having been decided in the affirmative, arrangements have been made for their spiritual requirements while there, and special institutions have been founded for enabling Catholic ecclesiastical students to enjoy the benefit of a university education. Thus Benedictine novices are now, as in old days, undergraduates at Cambridge, and another barrier has been broken down between the social life of Catholics and that of the country at large.

Nor amid so many wants and requirements at home for rebuilding the material structure of a church from its foundations was the divine command to teach the heathen of other nations forgotten. Not the least among English Catholic institutions is the splendid missionary college at Mill Hill, the creation of the present Cardinal Archbishop, now Superior of the Order established there. Opened in 1871 with accommodation for some 40 students and the requisite teaching staff, it has, in addition to missions in Borneo, in New Zealand, and in Southern India, a very important one in Uganda, with Bishop Hanlon at its head as Vicar Apostolic of the Upper Nile. Its students are prepared in the earlier stages of their training at St. Peter's, Freshfield, and it has auxiliary colleges for recruiting subjects abroad, in the Netherlands and the Tyrol.

Catholic charitable institutions are very numerous, and those of the Archdiocese of Westminster, which in 1840 numbered no more than 7, are now 49, including almshouses, refuges, reformatories, and penitentiaries. The Catholic Social Union, organised by the present Cardinal Archbishop for social work among the lower classes, has several settlements in the East End, where the young, at the critical period when they leave school, are gathered together in clubs, and brought within reach of the cultivating and

humanising influences of the ladies devoted to this great work of charity.

The abrogation of exceptional legislation against Catholics during the late reign began with the repeal in 1867 of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, passed in 1851 to render penal the assumption of territorial titles by Catholic prelates. In the same year was abrogated, too, the statutory exclusion of Catholics from the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland. Other reforms in the same direction were the Acts of 1858 and 1862, appointing Catholic chaplains for the Army and Navy, and for gaols and workhouses. The growth of the spirit of tolerance again was shown by the opening of the universities in 1854 to those of the old Faith to which their founders belonged, a tardy act of justice, yet a significant one. The principle of the right of Catholics to a share in the Parliamentary grant for education had been affirmed in 1847, after an active agitation in its favour, and an organisation was immediately formed to give effect to it by the establishment of institutions for the training of Catholic teachers. All these legislative relaxations are so many proofs that while in some quarters the old No-Popery tradition dies hard, there is a general and growing disposition to treat Catholic claims with justice, and Catholic worship with respect.

Among evidences of the latter tendency is the attitude of the population towards Catholic processions through the streets, which now, as before the Reformation, can perambulate portions of the metropolis and other great cities amid sympathetic and respectful crowds. The love of Catholic ritual on the part of non-Catholics—in many cases a true, though barren and illogical sentiment of devotion—is another symptom of the change in the public attitude towards the old Faith. Its grounds were epitomised in the reply of a non-Catholic, when asked by a friend why he always went to Benediction at the Oratory: "Because it is the perfection of worship." The mere recognition of such a truth marks a long step in advance.

A landmark in this movement of opinion was the solemn bestowal of the Papal Benediction, for the first time publicly pronounced since the Reformation, by the then Bishop of

Salford, now Cardinal Archbishop, on an anti-slavery meeting in Manchester, in December, 1888, and the reverent enthusiasm with which it was received by the large mixed audience of all creeds.

In Ireland—always Catholic—religious progress must be measured otherwise than by the numerical standard. Through the decline of the population owing to economic causes, the great famine, and subsequent movement of emigration, a Catholic flock of not far short of seven millions has been reduced to somewhat over three and a half, or little more than half its former figure. But so far is this reduction in numbers from involving the decadence of the Church, that the increased prosperity of the people is mirrored in the expansion of their ecclesiastical foundations, and their faith more than supplies for their paucity in numbers.

We do not know [says a writer in the Golden Jubilee number of the *Tablet* on May 17th, 1890]—why should we seek to inquire?—how many churches have been built in Ireland during the past half-century; but it is notorious that the humble buildings, where the grandfathers of the present generation knelt to worship God according to the rites brought into the country by St. Patrick more than 1500 years ago, have in very many places given way to beautiful architectural temples, of which the ages of Faith might be proud. . . .

Visible as the new churches are, landmarks of the advance year by year in religious progress, perhaps the development of the religious bodies is even more noteworthy. Fifty years ago it was very easy to reckon the number of regular religious communities in Ireland. There were, of course, several small scattered houses of the old religious foundations, which had contrived to survive the storm of the penal days, and continue the connection of modern Ireland with the past. The Presentation Nuns, that special Irish religious order, had been for many years in existence. The Irish Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy had been founded a very few years. The Jesuits, who had come back to renew, after two centuries and a half, the brief visit of the earlier days of Elizabeth's reign, had barely established a footing by their new college at Clongowes, and their new church in Gardiner's Street, Dublin. The Trappist Monks were making the wilderness rejoice among the mountains of the county of Waterford, recalling to the



minds of those versed in archæological lore the memories of Mellifont and Jerpoint. Nowadays what a grand spectacle is presented by the religious bodies settled in Ireland. Communities, the very names of which are unknown, are now regularly domiciled in the country, regarded with affection and veneration, as if they had sprung from the Irish people themselves. The Redemptorist and the Passionist Fathers, the Nuns of the Sacred Heart, and other religious congregations of men and women, can point to their settlements in Ireland as proofs of the fitness of the soil for religious harvests.

Nor is even the diminution in numbers of the Catholic population an unmixed evil. Every Irish Catholic, who carries with him abroad the steadfast conviction which is his birthright, is in his own person a missionary of the Faith. Every Irish home transplanted to other shores is an ark of Catholicism, bearing the fruitful seed of new harvests to other soils. The emigrant Irish, the overflow of a prolific race, driven abroad by over-pressure on the means of subsistence in their native land, have been the founders and pioneers of those great and growing churches of the future which make the extension of the British Empire synonymous with that of Catholicism in the Great West and in the Great South.

In the young communities developing to vigorous life in the lands of promise of the twentieth century, the Church finds the conditions of freedom and protection essential to her growth and expansion. The grain of mustard seed, to which the spreading tree of the Church in Australasia traces its origin, was the first Mass celebrated on that continent, in the early part of the present century, by Father Harold, an Irish priest transported for a political offence. His efforts, and those of volunteer priests for work among the convicts, were frustrated by the opposition of the authorities; and only after a long struggle, and many appeals to the Home Government, was a legal *status* assigned to Catholic chaplains. Of their number was Father Sherry, whose name is associated with traditions of hardship and persecution during a long life ended with a great reputation for sanctity. Ecclesiastical organisation followed the lines of convict settlement, and Sydney became

in 1834 the seat of the Vicariate-Apostolic of Australia, created in that year, with Dr. Polding, O.S.B., as its first prelate.

Tasmania, whither free settlers crowded on the track of penal colonisation, formed the next bishopric, founded in Hobart in 1842. Adelaide gave its name to a new diocese in the following year; and the establishment of three more, in Perth, Melbourne, and Brisbane, followed in 1845, 1848, and 1859 respectively.

The first considerable increase in the numbers of Catholics in the Southern hemisphere was due to the Irish immigration consequent on the famine of 1847-48, and it prepared the way for the Church in the subsequent period of rapid development of population and prosperity following on the discovery of gold in the colonies. The famished immigrants had come all unawares upon an Eldorado at the Antipodes, whose soil yielded nuggets instead of the humble roots denied them by that of their native land. Many of the Catholic settlers have there become landowners and are very well off, some owning thousands of acres in the best localities. Out of a population of 4,000,000 in Australasia nearly 800,000 are Catholics, and their generosity and faith are shown in the number of religious and charitable institutions with which it is endowed. It has 1,394 churches, with 678 secular and 252 regular priests, as well as 444 Religious Brothers and nearly 4,000 nuns. There are 769 primary and 158 higher schools, in which over 100,000 Catholic children are educated. The Hierarchy consists of 18 bishops and 5 Archbishops, headed by His Eminence Cardinal Moran, of Sydney. In the latter Archdiocese there are 800 nuns and 172 priests, including 79 belonging to various religious orders together with 150 teaching Brothers. St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral, the finest building in the Antipodes, standing not far from where the convict priest said the first Mass, was inaugurated last year in a ceremony attended by four Colonial Governors. In the rural parts of Australia, the devotion of the faithful is tested by the distance they will ride or drive in order to hear Mass, twelve to fourteen miles having often to be travelled. The clergy have still more severe work in saying Mass at



widely distant places, some having to ride on Sundays over thirty miles without breaking their fast.

Nor is the rapidly vanishing remnant of the native race forgotten by the teachers of the Gospel commissioned to all men. The wonders wrought by faith in elevating and improving them are most strikingly manifested in the native settlement and Abbey of the Spanish Benedictines at New Norcia, Western Australia, where they are taught to cultivate the land, and lead an orderly, industrious life, with religion as its civilising influence. There are in addition, we learn from *Illustrated Catholic Missions* for January, 1897, the Vicariate of Kimberley, erected in 1887 for the blacks of the same colony, and in the care of the Benedictines; the diocese of Victoria and Palmerston (South Australia) in care of the Jesuit Fathers, with the stations of Rapid Creek, Raly River, and Serpentine Lagoon for the natives; the Vicariate Apostolic of Queensland, erected in 1887, having charge of all the blacks in that colony, in whatever dioceses they reside.

Of late years [continues the writer], besides the Benedictines and Jesuits, the Trappists also have taken up the difficult work of the evangelisation of the natives in their new "Trappe" at Beagle Bay, on the North-west coast of Western Australia. . . . Attention should also be called to the most important and consoling step taken a year ago, as the closing event of the great Australasian Synod, held under the presidency of Cardinal Moran. This was the laying of the foundation-stone of the new missionary seminary on Kensington Hill, above Sydney, of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart (Issoudun). Their object is to make Sydney a great missionary centre for the natives of all Oceania, and the seminary in the care of these well-known missionaries is destined to train up both catechists and a native clergy for all the Oceanian tribes. On this subject we may quote the words of Archbishop Carr, of Melbourne, on this occasion: "Ever since I have lived in Australia I have been pursued by the thought that our race has contracted a heavy debt towards the poor natives whom it has disinherited of their land. After having despoiled them and driven them away into their mountain retreats, is it not our duty to restore to them more than we have taken from them, by giving them the means of

gaining in the next life more than they have lost in the present?"

The development of the Church in South Africa was treated of in a separate article in a recent number of this *REVIEW* (January, 1900), so we shall here do no more than briefly refer to it. It dates entirely from the reign of her late Majesty, as the exclusion of Catholicism enforced by the original Dutch occupants of the Cape was maintained by their English successors down to 1837. Numerical progress since that date is represented by the figure of 30,890 Catholics in British South Africa, including the two former Dutch Republics. This area is divided into four Vicariates-Apostolic and three Prefectures, with 906 missionaries, 97 churches or chapels, and 124 schools. The vast newly occupied territory of Rhodesia, from the Limpopo to the Zambesi, forms a separate province, constituted as a Prefecture-Apostolic under the Jesuit Mission of the Zambesi, of which the Superior resides at St. Aidan's College, Grahamstown. It has pushed its outposts as far as Fort Salisbury, in the extreme north of the territory, and numbers altogether 9 stations, with 8 churches or chapels and a staff of 18 Jesuit missionaries with an equal number of coadjutor Brothers. Their labours are shared by the Irish Dominican Sisters, who have done heroic pioneer work in the Chartered Company's vast sphere.

The sixty years' work of the Church in South Africa is but an earnest of the future expansion to be hoped for, when a great region, eminently suited for the white man's abode, shall have been rendered populous by the inflow of the English-speaking race.

Its history in another continent has run a different course, for there the Catholic faith was the birthright of the first colonists. France, the fervently Catholic France of pre-Revolution days, renewed her youth in the Western hemisphere, and planted there, with all her ancient traditions and beliefs, the most vigorous offshoot of her race. French Canada is no longer French in allegiance, but it is still so in religion, with a fidelity worthy of the past history of the Eldest Daughter of the Church. It forms a solid nucleus of Catholicism for the vast territories grouped round it as

the Dominion of Canada reaching from sea to sea. Here, where at the beginning of the century there was but one bishop and one Apostolic-Prefect, there are now 7 Archbishops, 19 bishops, 3 Vicars-Apostolic and 2 Apostolic-Prefects, while the increase in the number of priests has been from 60 to 2,400. The one seminary and 50 primary schools of those early days have multiplied into 20 seminaries with 540 students, a university with 600, and 5,070 other educational institutions, with about 280,000 pupils.

The Catholic population [said Cardinal Moran, in his address to the Catholic Congress at Sydney] has had a singular increase. In 1800, including Newfoundland, the total number of Catholics was not more than 137,000. At present the Canadian Dominion reckons 2,061,000, and Newfoundland 82,000. [The "Catholic Directory" for this year gives 2,600,000 for British America.] It is true the Irish emigration added about 800,000 to the Catholic population; but, on the other hand, the emigration from Canada to the United States reckoned a like number. From an official memorandum in the Propaganda papers we learn that the whole number of Catholics in the diocese of Nova Scotia in 1820 was 9,000. I need not dwell on the subsequent history and vicissitudes of this diocese. Suffice it to say that when, in 1844, the Right Rev. Dr. Fraser, its Bishop, was translated to the newly-erected diocese of Arichat, he was succeeded in Halifax by his coadjutor, the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, who a few years later became the first Archbishop of Halifax, and under whose administration the diocese made rapid strides in every path of religious progress. The see erected at Arichat in 1844 was subsequently translated to Antigneth. Here the Catholics are more numerous than in the parent diocese, numbering 73,000. There are three other suffragan dioceses, embracing the whole territories of Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, and having an aggregate Catholic population of 180,000.

While the Church thus expands and flourishes in the older Provinces of Canada, it keeps pace with the general development of the newly-settled territories just entering on their career of progress and prosperity. Mgr. Lafleche, one of the pioneer missionaries of this region, afterwards

Bishop of Three Rivers, Canada, was asked, on his return from a journey through it some years ago, how he found the Church progressing in the North-West?

She is making wonderful strides of progress [he replied]. When, in 1844, I started out for the great West there were only four Sisters of the Grey Nunnery Congregation in that distant region; now there are 21 convents with 167 Sisters.

In 1844 there was only 1 bishop, Mgr. Provencher, with 3 priests in the entire Canadian North-West; now there are 1 Archbishop, 4 bishops, 37 secular and 100 regular priests, 150 churches, 46 Catholic schools, and 31 Sisters' boarding-schools.

Meantime, every possible effort is being made, by the establishment of schools and missions among the Red Indians, to secure for them some of the benefits of civilisation. The extinction of the race is at least delayed, if it cannot be averted, by the attempt to fit them for new conditions of life, and the numbers of some of the tribes under the care of priests are actually increasing. The savage Sioux, once no less inveterate head-hunters than the Dyaks of Borneo, have settled down as peaceful agriculturists, tilling the lands assigned them. The braves of the Black-feet have buried the hatchet for ever, and are loyal subjects of the British Crown. In remote lodges on the frozen Arctic slope, in the valleys of the Mackenzie and Athabasca, the visit of the black-robe is the great event of the wild hunter's life; and heroic is the courage with which the priests travel hundreds of miles in the depth of winter, in dog-sledges or on snow-shoes, to reach these poor wanderers of the wild. The name of the veteran Father Lacombe stands out amongst them, but he has many emulators and imitators.

The social part played by Catholic Canada in the life of the Empire is a great and growing one. It is typified in Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the first Catholic Premier of the Dominion, who took a considerable step towards commercial union with the mother country by introducing a tariff discriminating in favour of certain classes of British goods. The loyalty of French Canada was shown in the singular

fact that among the regiments of volunteers in South Africa was one in which an entire company could speak no English, yet had crossed the sea to fight for the British flag.

The difficulties of the early apostolate in British North America were illustrated by an interesting event in the opening year of the late Queen's reign, the celebration at Glengarry, in Upper Canada, of the Golden Jubilee of Bishop Macdonell, of Kingston, Ontario. Upwards of thirty years of his life were passed in the labours of an apostolic missionary, and his references to them show how backward was then the country that is now prosperous and civilised. Addressing his countrymen before Mass in Gaelic, his native tongue, he called to their minds the state of religious destitution in which he had found their country, and indeed the whole province on his arrival in 1804 :

Without clergy, without churches, without presbyteries or schools ; and, what rendered the labours of a missionary still more arduous, without roads. His pastoral labours were not confined to the county of Glengarry, they extended from one end of the province to the other, and that for many years, when he had had no fellow-labourer to assist him within a distance of 700 miles.

The state of Upper Canada at that time resembled pretty closely what is now the condition of the remote North-West, and the progress we have seen in the one region may well be an index to what we may look forward to in the other.

To very opposite social conditions we must turn our minds in passing from West to East, from the Great Dominion of America to the British Empire in Asia. Here, where European immigration on a large scale is prohibited by climate, it is among the heathen population that the increase in the harvest of the Gospel is to be looked for. This great field of the apostolate, the legacy of St. Francis Xavier, has had its religious administration complicated by the changes in its history. The Royal Patronage over all the churches in India, originally conferred on Portugal, in recognition of her priority in the introduction of Christianity, had become an anachronism under its change of rulers, and grievously hampered the action of the Holy See in regard to it. The Concordat of 1886, substituted for that of 1857,

opened a new era in the history of the Church in India. By its provisions, the direct authority of the Holy See replaced that of Portugal throughout British India, with the exception of Madura and Bombay, and a Hierarchy was created consisting of 6 Archbishops and 17 bishops for British India. This more complete organisation was demanded by the growth of the Catholic population, which Cardinal Jacobini, writing to the Portuguese Ambassador in 1847, estimated at no more than 700,000. The "Madras Directory for 1900" gives the welcome news that the number of our co-religionists in India, including Burma and Ceylon, now for the first time exceeds two millions, deducting from which something over half a million for those of Pondicherry, leaves the number of Catholics in British India close on a million and a half. These figures represent a gain of about 200,000 on those given in the Census for 1891, which in their turn marked an advance of 300,000 on those of the previous decennial period. The increase during the year 1899-1900 is put down as 70,000.

The Abbé Dubois, in 1832, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, roughly estimated the Catholic converts in the Peninsula of Hindustan and Ceylon at 600,000, but this included French and Portuguese territory, for which a large deduction should be made. Cardinal Moran speaks as follows of British India in one of a series of articles in *Illustrated Catholic Missions* in 1895-96 :

Nothing could be more sad than the condition of the Indian Catholic Church at the close of the last century. Tippoo Sahib, in the twenty years of his devastating career, had put to death about 100,000 Christians in South India. In one day at Tanjore he had caused 40,000 to be enrolled as Mohammedans. The churches and schools and every vestige of the Catholic religion that came within his reach were swept away. For sixty years, that is from 1760 to 1820, there were scarcely any European missionaries to replace their martyred or exiled brethren.

In the beginning of the present century, outside of the Portuguese territory, there were only 3 bishops and 20 missionaries, with two or three native priests. There remained of the scattered flock throughout India about 130,000. At present the Indian Hierarchy consists of 8



Archbishops and 21 bishops, with their dioceses fully equipped as to clergy and Brothers. . . . For some years the annual number received into the Church has been over 100,000.

The growth of religion in the Lower Provinces, Bengal and their feudatories—at one time the least hopeful field for Indian mission work—is most striking. During the decade from 1881 to 1891 the Church of England increased by something more than 52 per cent., from 23,141 to 38,231. But the Catholic Church during the same period increased more than 236 per cent., the advance being from 26,653 to 89,794, or more than four times that of the Church of England. On the other hand, the Baptists show a falling off of more than 13 per cent. The Church of Scotland had declined from 3,683 to 2,970, and unspecified Christians had also decreased from 22,210 to 20,290, to 7,078. The change in Tinnevely merits special attention. That district had long been pointed out as the typical district of Protestant missionary success. In the decennium from 1881 to 1891, the Protestants of all denominations decreased 8 per cent., while the increase of the Roman Catholics is registered at 22 per cent. At Madura, the Bishop, Mgr. Canoz, died in 1888. He had laboured there as missionary and bishop for forty-nine years. He built a college, in which at his death there were 1,000 students. He trained several native priests, one of whom preached his funeral panegyric. He personally received into the Church 20,000 converts. At his death the Hindus, Mohammedans, and Protestants vied with the Catholics in showing how they loved and revered the saintly prelate.

He then quotes Sir William Hunter as to the superior adaptability to native ways of the Catholic missionaries in India over their Protestant brethren :

The Roman Catholics work in India with slender pecuniary resources. The Roman Catholic priests deny themselves the comforts considered necessities for Europeans in India. In many districts they live the frugal and abstemious life of the natives, and their influence reaches deep into the social life of the communities among whom they dwell.

A still more eloquent panegyric comes from the generous pen of the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, a Presbyterian missionary :

Her missionaries are always crowding to every heathen country, and among the great populations of India and

Ceylon number their converts by scores for every one that Protestants can count as the fruit of their labours. No degree of possible self-sacrifice demanded by their works turns them back. No danger appals them. Wherever she gains a foothold, she speedily erects the university, the college, and the seminary, as well as the church, and wins thousands of the sons and daughters of other religions, and even of Protestants, by the superior appliances with which she furnishes them. And close by the side of her school and church you will soon see her asylums for indigence and misfortune spring up. She is also a gentle and tireless nurse of human pain. Where the pestilence mows its deadliest swath of human lives there you will see her Sisters of Mercy and her Father Confessors, never shrinking from the touch of the plague, and never leaving the field nor remitting their ministries of care till the scourge departs or death discharges them. And many a good priest has evinced his sincerity as well as his courage by going into the battlefield, where death fell the thickest, that he might give the comforts and hopes of his religion to the dying.

It would be easy to multiply such testimonies, but our concern is with results. These are tabulated in *Illustrated Catholic Missions* for March, 1901. They give throughout British India, including Pondicherry, but exclusive of Ceylon, from 1840 to 1900, an increase in the Catholic population of from 443,000 to 1,161,652, and in European and native priests of from 98 to 685, and from 398 to 614 respectively.

In Ceylon, which is ecclesiastically, though not politically, part of India, we find a still more striking increase. While the Abbé Dubois, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, estimated the total Catholic population of the island at 150,000, it now aggregates a quarter of a million, out of a general population of three millions. Their proportion to the number of pagans, which in Hindustan is, roughly speaking, 1 in 150, is thus in Ceylon 1 in 12, and the conversions in the diocese of Colombo alone are close upon 800 annually. Nor is this progress merely numerical, as the increase in the number of priests and nuns, of schools and all religious institutions, is commensurate with it. While Portuguese priests,



Propaganda missionaries, Silvestrine Benedictines, and Jesuits have all taken part in the evangelisation of the island, the most considerable results have been achieved by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, especially in the dioceses of Colombo and Jaffna. These Fathers, first invited to Ceylon by Bishop Bettacchini, have been in charge of the Vicariate (now diocese) of Jaffna since 1847.

The Catholics [says the *Missionary Record O.M.I.*] were then 50,000 to a total population of 750,000; they are now 90,000 to 864,000. There were then only 10 priests; there are now 50, besides some European and native Brothers. There were no nuns; there are now large convents at Jaffna, Kurunegala, Vennapura, and Trincomalie. There were 9 finished churches or chapels; there are now 109. There were 9 unfinished; of such there are now 29. There were 4 missionary residences; there are now 108. There were 8 missions having a resident priest; there are now 38. Instead of 203 Christian villages, having at least a small chapel, there are at present 285. Of Catholic native schools in 1847 there were 10, of English none; now there are 113 native and 12 English schools. The school children, who were then only 350 in number, are now 8,700.

As many as 80 of these schools are in receipt of a Government grant, showing how a high standard of education is maintained.

Very few conversions take place among the Mohammedans in Ceylon, but those of Buddhists and Hindus are estimated at about 1,000 per annum.

Travelling to the further East we find that the recent extension of the British Empire to the border of Siam has opened a new and promising field for Catholic mission work in the former kingdom of Thebaw.

In 1853 [says Cardinal Moran, in his survey] Burma had only 8 missionaries and about 5,000 Catholics. When England two years later seized on a portion of the territory, the Government avenged itself on the Christians. The churches, presbyteries, and schools were destroyed. One missionary was put to death; another fell a victim to the hardships of his imprisonment. At the present day there is the fullest religious liberty, and religion is flourishing.

According to a statement in *Illustrated Catholic Missions*

for December, 1897, there is now a Catholic population of over 50,000; the European and native priests number respectively 67 and 14, and the schools 195. The Leper Asylums, established near Rangoon and Mandalay by Fathers Freynet and Wehinger, are an example of the efforts of the Church to ameliorate the lot of these, perhaps, most miserable and abandoned of human creatures. The Cardinal quotes a letter from East Burma to the *Allahabad Morning Post*, in which the system of the Catholic missionaries is contrasted with that of the representatives of other sects :

The Roman Catholics have established a mission here, and are working with a zeal and energy, coupled with a self-sacrificing self-denial, found nowhere outside the Church of Rome. Their work and self-denial is in strong contrast to the pretence of another foreign mission whose members (some of them) live continuously in Toungoo, varied by trips to a sanatorium or the seashore.

Nowhere does this contrast appeal with greater force to the native mind than in the East, where the idea of sanctity is so closely associated with asceticism.

Uganda is one of the regions in which the extension of the Imperial frontier has opened up a most promising field for the missionary. The geographical position of the Protectorate, and the capacity of its inhabitants for civilisation, render it both politically and socially the keystone of Central Africa. Here Bishop Hanlon, of the Mill Hill Society, working on the ground ceded to him by the Algerian White Fathers, is already reaping a harvest of conversions restricted only by paucity of means. He had, according to the returns for 1900, 22 priests working under him in 4 stations, each with a church, dispensary, presbytery, and school. The Catholics numbered 5,654, the catechumens 13,048, and the baptisms during the year 2,077. The zeal of the converts has been shown by their heroism in suffering martyrdom for the Faith in the persecutions which raged under the native rulers.

The Church, receiving from the State only the same freedom and protection accorded to all other institutions under the ægis of the British flag, has thus struck its roots deep among the great and growing communities that hold

the promise of the future. The Most Reverend Dr. Goethals, Archbishop of Calcutta, expresses himself as follows in an eloquent Pastoral addressed to his clergy on the death of the Queen :

We Catholics cannot forget that under her gentle sway the Church has taken a wonderful extension, not only in the British Isles, but in every new colony that has been added under her to the British Empire. This fact is so striking that some profound Catholic writer has emitted the opinion that, if it is the mission of France to evangelise in the cause of Catholicism, it is the mission of England, while extending the sphere of her power, to give that evangelisation what the Church alone wants—fair play.

The great pulse of renewed national vitality that has in Victoria's reign sent its impetus to all the ends of the earth has thus imparted a large share of its energy to the Catholic Church in every portion of her dominions. For the progress and prosperity enjoyed under her rule twelve million Catholics in every quarter of the globe have reason to look back with gratitude to the reign of Victoria as a golden age of the Church throughout her Empire.

E. M. CLERKE.

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## ART. II.—A CENTURY OF CATHOLIC LITERATURE.—II.

### 3. FRENCH CATHOLIC LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. 4. ENGLISH CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

IN a former paper in these pages, we invited our readers to the consideration of the Catholic literature of the nineteenth century. And after a rapid survey of the rich and extensive field before us, we attempted to give some account of the Catholic literature of Germany. As we insisted at the outset, the sketch here offered made no claim to completeness. Many books and authors were passed over in silence, and some of the first importance received comparatively little notice. This was especially the case with works which had recently been noticed in these pages, or writers with whose merits the general reader is already fairly familiar. The same will hold good with those other branches of Catholic literature which still remain to be considered. It is true that they are not all on the same scale: for only one of the other nations has a Catholic literature that can vie in extent and importance with that of Germany. And in the case of some among them, a fairly full account of their literature would be a somewhat lighter labour. Yet, for various reasons, we must be content with a brief notice of some of their leading Catholic writers.

With the Catholic literature of France, which now claims our attention, our task will be lightened by the fact that this must be a field with which most of our readers are already familiar. At first sight, it might almost seem to be a needless and superfluous labour, to offer an account of the French Catholic literature of

the nineteenth century. Yet we fancy that a closer examination will show that there is even more need here for a judicious critical estimate, than there is in the case of less familiar languages, such as the Polish and Hungarian. For if the Englishman has but little knowledge of the literature of these outlying regions, he is at any rate free from prejudices and erroneous notions on this subject. It is otherwise with the Catholic literature of France. This is at once so large and so near to us, that it forces itself on the attention of the most careless observer ; and so varied in its nature, that it is peculiarly liable to misconception. There is, perhaps, no field more perilous for the hasty and superficial critic who judges the whole of a large subject from an acquaintance with one of its parts. There are some readers in this country whose estimate of French literature generally is chiefly based on a certain class of realistic fiction ; and we fear that, in some quarters, there is a tendency to identify the Catholic literature of France with what may be called the idealistic school of history, or with some works more remarkable for their piety than for critical scholarship or literary excellence. And we sometimes find that critics who have learnt to appreciate the learned labours of the German scholars and historians, are led to speak in disparagement of French writers. As if France had no authors of commanding genius, and no scholars and critics to compare with the best of England and Germany !

Were it only for this reason, it may not be amiss to call the attention of our readers to this other aspect of French Catholic literature, giving special prominence to works of genius that have influenced the mind of the age, and to writings of a scholarly and scientific character. This will leave little room for treating of the more popular and practical branches of the national literature. But we can pass them by with less regret, as they are, for the most part, sufficiently familiar to Catholic readers in this country.

The student of modern French history can hardly fail to be struck by one significant fact, that shows the high importance of some of the leading Catholic writers. The

early years of the nineteenth century witnessed a remarkable revival of religion; and while the revolutionary disciples of the anti-Christian philosophers were celebrating the overthrow of Catholicism, it arose in their midst with a new life and vigour. At the same hour, the national literature of France, which had sunk to a low level in the blighting frost of the eighteenth century and the storms of the Revolution, was quickened as with the breath of a second spring.

These two movements of revival continued throughout a great part of the new century, bearing much fruit, whether for good or evil. They were sometimes sharply distinguished, or even in conflict. Much of the highest literature had little enough of religion; and some factors in the Catholic revival had nothing to do with literature. But at the outset there can be no question as to the close connection of the two movements. They began together in the same minds, and won their way with the same weapons. And each of them owed much to the other. For the cause of religion was promoted by the labour of a band of great writers; and the literature of the opening century was freshened by the quickening spirit of Catholicism. Opinions may differ as to the exact relations of the movements, or as to the merits of their leaders: but this main fact, at least, is undisputed and indisputable. And the reader who has not studied the story of that momentous period, may readily satisfy himself by referring to any history of the religious revival that followed in the wake of the Revolution, or to any account of the French literature of the early nineteenth century. He will certainly find that both the religious and the literary historian will give a prominent place in their story to the same band of writers. We may take as an instance two very different works, which have recently been reviewed in these pages, Dr. Fairbairn's "*Catholicism, Anglican and Roman*," and M. Brunetière's "*Manual of French Literature*." The former has occasion to describe the revival of Catholicism in France and in Europe; and the latter, from a different standpoint, deals with the literary renaissance at the opening of the century.

But we find that both the Scottish divine and the French critic agree in paying special attention to the writings of the Vicomte de Chateaubriand, the Vicomte de Bonald, and the Comte de Maistre. It is, we may add, a further significant fact, that in this group of great writers who stood forward in defence of Catholic principles, all of them are laymen—a happy omen of the part that the laity was destined to bear in the religious life and activity of the coming century.

Though not actually the first in age or importance, the first-named writer may be regarded as in some sense the leader of the movement. And his chief works appeared, appropriately enough, in the opening years of the new century. At the present day it is the fashion, especially in this country, to sneer at Chateaubriand. But as Matthew Arnold justly says: "The common English judgment, which stamps him as a mere shallow rhetorician, all froth and vanity, is certainly wrong." And after quoting a sentence of Chateaubriand's on the pathetic, the English critic asks: "Who does not feel that the man who wrote that was no shallow rhetorician, but a born man of genius, with the true instinct of genius for what is really admirable?"\* This lack of appreciation is doubtless due in some measure to a reason suggested by Arnold. Much of Chateaubriand's power resides in his language, and beauty of diction is too often lost on foreign readers. It may be added that Chateaubriand is peculiarly French, and his work illustrates that side of the French character which is furthest from our own. Let us not be misunderstood. While we enter a protest against the unjust depreciation of Chateaubriand, we have no wish to press his claim unduly. A man of true genius, he was yet no luminary of the first magnitude. And looking simply at the intrinsic merit of his own writings, no judicious critic would set him on a level with Goethe in Germany, or with Victor Hugo in his own country. But to form a just estimate of his works, we must remember the circumstances of the age in which they were written. Now that the beauty and dignity of

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\* "Essays in Criticism," p. 221.



the faith has become a well-worn theme, much in the pages of the *Génie du Christianisme* may well seem to be needless insistence on the obvious. For nowadays even those who do not submit to the authority of the Church, can yet regard it with respect, and readily recognise the good services rendered in the past by Catholic saints, and Popes, and bishops. But Chateaubriand was writing for a generation that had learnt to look on Catholicism and Christianity with ignorant contempt. Hence the task which he had undertaken was no work of supererogation. It was, on the contrary, a much needed service to the truth, and one, moreover, that required no mean measure of courage. And if not a few of the themes treated in his pages have been handled more effectively by other writers, it must not be forgotten that Chateaubriand was the pioneer who showed the way.

Most can raise the flowers now,  
For all have got the seed.

While the *Génie du Christianisme* and the other works of Chateaubriand marked an epoch in the history of Catholic apologetics, they were at the same time a turning-point in the course of French literature. And as his labours, in vindicating the human or poetic side of Catholicism, were carried further by some more recent writers, so, in like manner, may traces of his influence be discovered in some of the brightest pages of French poetry. It will be enough to notice its presence in the earlier works of one who will be regarded by many as the greatest figure in the literature of the century. In later life, Victor Hugo drifted far from the Church and revealed religion; but in some of his finest poetry, the *Odes et Ballades* of his Royalist youth, he is distinctly a Catholic writer. In one of these Odes, *Le Génie*, the poet sings the praise of Chateaubriand, whose writings are cited more than once in the volume. And in the preface to the edition of 1824, he pays a tribute to the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*, which should suffice to make amends for all that has been said in his disparagement. Victor Hugo here maintains that great



poets generally arise after great public calamities, and after other instances in illustration he adds :

Le meurtre de Henri IV. précéda Corneille. Racine, Molière, Boileau, avaient assisté aux orages de la Fronde. Après la Révolution française, Chateaubriand s'élève, et la proportion est gardée.

With these *Odes* of Victor Hugo, and the *Méditations* and the *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses* of Lamartine before us, we cannot but feel that a large measure of the highest French poetry of the century owes its inspiration to Catholicism.

But, while we readily recognise the importance of Chateaubriand, both for his own writings and his influence on others, we cannot regard him as the chief Catholic champion in modern French literature. If we are not mistaken, this honour belongs to one of the French beyond the frontier, Comte Joseph de Maistre. Sprung from an old French stock which had long been settled in Piedmont, and had rendered loyal service to the House of Savoy, while still remaining French in language and in sympathies, Joseph de Maistre was able to review the revolutionary movement with more knowledge than other foreign observers, and more detachment and impartiality than was possible to Frenchmen of whatever party. It is true that, though he bore no part in the struggle, he had a large share in the sufferings that flowed from the Revolution. But, happily, no trials or hardships could embitter his generous and chivalrous spirit. And as Mr. Morley justly observes, he was more hostile to the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which he regarded as the source of the Revolution, than he was to the Jacobins themselves. And while he was a staunch and zealous champion of the old order, his temper was very different from that of the more fanatical soldiers of absolutism.

At the present time, when so many are content to judge of books at secondhand, and read about them instead of reading them, it is likely enough that some readers are familiar with the name of Comte de Maistre, but have no direct acquaintance with his writings. And having learnt

that he was a leader of the reactionary movement, the champion of Popes and kings, and the resolute opponent of political revolutions and Gallican liberties, they may be led to regard him as a sentimentalist and somewhat of a fanatic. If so, a true knowledge of the man and his works should bring a pleasing disillusionment. For the broad sympathies, the sound sense, and the calm reasoning that are so conspicuous in his pages, are surely something far removed from the narrowness and violence of fanatical reactionaries. There is, doubtless, not a little in the causes championed by De Maistre that can hardly be welcome to an age of independence in thought and popular freedom in politics. But though he may be unable to share the author's conclusions, the candid reader of his works cannot but feel a genuine admiration for the genius and character of Joseph de Maistre. It may be that some of his arguments and opinions can scarcely bear the fierce light of modern criticism: and for a satisfactory treatment of certain problems of apologetics, we must betake ourselves to more recent writers. None the less, the main body of his work is of permanent value. There are some books that fulfil a useful purpose in their day, but are eventually superseded, and all that can be gained from their pages may be found in greater force and fulness in later manuals. But this is not the case with the works of the Comte de Maistre; and the reader who has not studied his volume on "The Pope," or his *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, will suffer no little loss, however wide may be his acquaintance with later Catholic literature.

In attempting this estimate of the Catholic writers of the century, it is our constant object to treat them with justice and impartiality. We have no wish to exaggerate their merits and make them appear greater than they were, simply because they are our brethren in religion. How far we may be successful in this effort is another matter. We may, indeed, reassure ourselves by the reflection, that while we admire the writings of men like De Maistre or Möhler, we have much the same feelings for the works of authors who are very far from Catholicism. And, on the other hand, there are many writers of undeniable ortho-

doxy for whom we have no such admiration. Still, this argument is purely subjective and private, and the reader may not unnaturally retain some shrewd suspicion that our praises are due to partiality and a pardonable pride, rather than a genuine literary appreciation. Hence, it is a satisfaction to be able to fortify ourselves by the support of some competent non-Catholic critic. We have already seen how Matthew Arnold appreciated Chateaubriand; and another eminent English authority on these matters has given us a careful study of the life and writings of De Maistre. His later political experience, which has brought him into closer contact with Catholics, may have served to modify and soften some of Mr. Morley's opinions; but at least in his earlier writings he is distinctly hostile to Catholic and religious ideals. Yet in spite of this obvious bias, his estimate of the genius and character of the Catholic champion is singularly favourable; and he is certainly justified in claiming in a later volume that he "has written, not without sympathy and appreciation, of Joseph de Maistre.\* Elsewhere in his works the same critic has a remark on De Maistre which we cannot pass without a word of protest:

It is curious to observe that De Maistre, who thought more meanly of Plato than Voltaire did, and hardly less meanly than he thought of Voltaire himself, cried out that in the study of philosophy contempt for Locke is the beginning of wisdom.†

We can only suppose that Mr. Morley is thinking of that singular passage in the book on "The Pope," in which De Maistre distinguishes between the Greek and the Oriental Plato, and says: "Toutes les fois qu'il est Grec il ennuie, et souvent il impatiente." But even in this disparaging passage, he goes on to say:

Il n'est grand, sublime, pénétrant que lorsqu'il est théologien; c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il énonce des dogmes positifs et éternels séparés de toute chican, et qui portent si clairement le cachet oriental, que pour le méconnaître, il faut n'avoir jamais entrevu l'Asie.‡

\* "Studies in Literature," p. 161.

† "Voltaire," p. 68

‡ *Du Pape*, Livre IV., chap. vii.

And elsewhere in his writings we frequently find him appealing to the authority of Plato. Thus, on the insufficiency of instruction by books alone, he says: "Personne n'a mieux vu, ni mieux exprime cette verité que Platon, *qu'on trouve toujours le premier sur la route de toutes les grandes vérités.*"\* The words which we have printed in italics are scarcely compatible with a mean opinion of Plato. And in another work he says again: "En me servant des paroles mêmes de Platon que je cite toujours volontiers."† The position which Plato held in the mind of De Maistre may be plainly seen in a phrase which he uses in appealing to the philosophers of antiquity, "tous ces philosophes, et Platon surtout."‡

To Mr. Morley's testimony we may add that of Auguste Comte, who has made good use of De Maistre in his *Philosophie Positive*, and frankly expresses his obligations to the great Catholic writer. In spite of his own hostility to the cause represented by De Maistre, Comte always speaks of him with the deepest respect. Thus, having occasion to appeal to his authority on the beneficent influence of the Mediæval Church, the Positivist philosopher refers his readers to the pages of *Du Pape*, as "the memorable work of that illustrious thinker."§

A detailed examination of the numerous writings of Joseph de Maistre is beyond our present purpose; nor can we stay to consider any of the valuable lessons he has left us in the varied fields of politics, philosophy, or theology. We may, however, attempt a general estimate of his place and office in French Catholic literature. Beginning his labours on the morrow of the Revolution, his work was almost necessarily of a polemical character. With Chateaubriand and his fellows, he sought to revive the glories of the past, and restore to their rightful power and honours the Catholic Church and the Christian State. But in the eyes of De Maistre, the first thing to be done

\* Cf. *Essai sur le principe Générateur des Constitutions Politiques*, p. 25.

† *Les Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*, I., 145. Cf. p. 366, n.: "Platon ayant avoué expressément, dans la page la plus extraordinaire qui ait été écrite humainement dans le monde, etc."

‡ *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon*, Tome I., p. 42.

§ *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, V., 241.

was to overthrow the false philosophy of the eighteenth century, which he regarded as the real *fons et origo mali*. Associating it in his mind with the hated ideas of its dominant thinkers, he came to look on the century itself as a thing of evil. Its guilty ghost still seemed to hover over the opening years of the new era, and he complains with some bitterness that the eighteenth century is only finished in the almanacs. The reader may be reminded of the closing lines of Victor Hugo's ode on the judgment of the century :

Longtemps la Voix inexorable  
Poursuivit le Siècle coupable,  
Qui tombait dans l'éternité.

But along with this hated philosophy there was another and a very different foe to encounter—the Gallicanism which had weakened and hampered the Church of France in its war with worldliness and irreligion. Throughout all his various writings, De Maistre constantly has this two-fold task before his eyes. To many readers, he is probably best known as the champion of Papal authority and the opponent of Gallicanism, for this part of his work had no little influence on the subsequent course of theological controversy ; and it stands out conspicuously in the titles of two of his books, *Du Pape* and *De l'Eglise Gallicane*. None the less, the struggle with the eighteenth century philosophy occupies the greater part of his writings ; and it is this, we fancy, that will have most interest to readers of the present day.

Naturally enough, we meet with the same line of reasoning, and the same general method, both in the defence of Christianity against the unbelievers, and in the vindication of Papal authority against the Gallicans. And, in truth, as we see plainly in the pages of *Du Pape*, the whole is but one continuous and consistent argument, in which Catholicism, in all its purity and fulness, is set before us as the sole hope and refuge of mankind. There is, however, a marked difference in the author's treatment of the two classes of opponents with whom he is contending. Against both alike he maintains his own position with the same

firmness, and shatters their defences with the same relentless logic. But, in the one case the vehemence of his onslaught is tempered by his genuine admiration of the great Bossuet, and his respect for the other Gallican champions. It is not that he loves them less, but he loves truth more. *Amicus Plato, sed major veritas*. It is far otherwise with the eighteenth century philosophers and their English idols; for here De Maistre's hatred of their cause is further intensified by his contempt for their characters.

It is possible that some readers may prefer this more vigorous and unsparing method of warfare, and regard the milder treatment of the Gallican leaders as a mistaken leniency. But, as may be gathered, we hope, from our own attitude towards Protestant opponents, we can by no means share in this opinion. On the contrary, we could wish that some similar personal considerations had led De Maistre to mitigate the severity of his judgment on the philosophers. And the same may be said of his picture of *Port Royal*, which certainly seems too darkly shaded. The contemptuous treatment of Locke and Bacon must surely be somewhat of a shock to many English readers: but it is happily clear that this does not arise, as might be suspected, from any national or religious prejudice on the part of the French writer. This is sufficiently shown by his unfeigned reverence for Shakespeare and Newton.

It may be well to add, that besides his share in the Catholic revival and in the literary renaissance, De Maistre took part in another contemporary movement in the field of philosophy. It is true that in this he scarcely holds the same commanding position, and in consequence but little attention has been paid to this aspect of his writings: for historians and critics, who treat of the philosophy of the century, are chiefly occupied with the professional philosophers, men who found systems or publish set courses of philosophy. This is natural enough; but it may sometimes happen that the more informal and freer philosophy of men like De Maistre, who write with a practical purpose, throws an instructive side-light on the mental movements of the age. If we may venture to say so, they serve to

show us the reality of philosophy, which might else seem to be but an abstraction of the schools. At the same time, being concerned more with the truth itself than with its formal expression, or with technical terminology, they stand, so to say, on neutral ground, and help in some measure to conciliate and connect the various divergent or conflicting systems.

Thus, it will be found that De Maistre, as a philosopher, is in touch with two very different movements which might otherwise seem to have little in common. In his resistance to the crude materialism of the eighteenth century, and in his return to the loftier ideals of an earlier age, there is much that would win the sympathy of disciples of the chief thinkers of modern Germany. At the same time, he may be ranked as one of the leaders in the movement which has revived the teaching of the great mediæval schoolmen : and it is well to add, that he drew attention to the fact that some of the modern masters are under some obligations to St. Thomas Aquinas. We have already seen that the influence of De Maistre made itself felt in a quarter far removed from Scholasticism—Comte's Positive Philosophy. This is scarcely surprising, for the Catholic champion and his fellow-labourer, the Vicomte de Bonald, were among the first to inaugurate that important branch of study to which Comte has given the name of Sociology. In this we may see that De Maistre was no mere reactionary. With all his love for the past, he felt instinctively the true needs of the hour, and occupied himself with those problems to which the mind of the age was turning.

It is worthy of note in this connection, that much of De Maistre's best labour was spent in dealing with the difficulty presented by the evil in the world—and this at the very time when the founder of modern pessimism was elaborating his system. No two writers could well be more different in their methods, in their teaching, or in their character and temperament than De Maistre and Schopenhauer. The champion of the Church remained serene and submissive in the midst of adversity : the pessimist philosopher, though free from these trials, was caustic and bitter in his prosperity. Both alike were keen critics, clear, yet deep



thinkers, and masters of language. But the causes they represent are wide as the poles asunder. Curiously enough, the self-same year, 1819, saw the publication of *Du Pape* and of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*.

What we have said of his philosophy will apply, in some measure, to De Maistre's labours in the field of history. If he was not a professional philosopher, still less can he be ranked among the historians; for not one of his works is, strictly speaking, historical. Yet many of the errors against which he wrote were due to a false view of the facts of the past, and he could not well refute them without throwing fresh light on the field of history. The reader will readily recall his oft quoted utterance on this subject: "*Depuis trois siècles, l'histoire entière semble n'être qu'une grande conjuration contre la vérité.*"\* Since those words were written much has been done, both by Catholic and non-Catholic writers, to remove this reproach; and the dry light of modern methods of research has dissipated some of the clouds raised by partisans and controversialists. Thus, to take a notable instance, the true nature of the work achieved by Gregory VII. is now rightly appreciated: and here as in other matters, a prediction of De Maistre's has been happily accomplished.

But while De Maistre denounced the Protestant conspiracy against truth he had no inclination to meet it by a contrary conspiracy. He made no attempt to palliate crimes, or cloak abuses and scandals. It was enough for him to bring the charges against Churchmen to their true dimensions, and show that they did not warrant the conclusions which some polemical writers would fain found upon them. But of the evils themselves he spoke his mind with courage and candour.

In saying this, we must not be understood to adopt all this great writer's views on history or religious philosophy. If we may venture to say so, his theory is a little too perfect for us. And, though he is certainly free from unfairness, his arguments are sometimes pressed too far. Thus, in his letters on the Spanish Inquisition, he makes an able, and

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\* *Du Pape*, Livre II., chap. xii.

at the same time a fair and temperate, defence of that much abused tribunal. He points to the special dangers with which Spain was threatened, and the need of some determined measures to meet them; and he shows that, far from indulging in peculiar cruelty, the Inquisition compared favourably with other courts of criminal jurisprudence. But his most striking argument is that in which he turns the tables on his opponents, and points to all the bloodshed that followed in the trail of the Reformation, in the other parts of Europe.

Now, whatever may be said of the attempted exoneration of the Inquisition, it may well be doubted whether the comparative peace and unity of Catholic Spain was really the result of a policy of repression. May not something be ascribed to the zeal and loyalty of the people, or to the absence of some of the causes that led to the troubles in Northern Europe? On the other hand, it is by no means clear that all the bloodshed in Germany, and elsewhere, can be fairly laid to the charge of the Reformers. For the Reformation itself was largely due to political causes, such as a natural jealousy of the growing power of the House of Austria. Undoubtedly, the divisions in religion added fresh fuel to flames; but at least, in some cases, the supposed religious interest was not the sole, or even the main, motive of the struggle. And if the Thirty Years' War and the civil wars in France followed in the wake of the Reformation, it is well to remember that the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses went before it. Nor is the St. Bartholomew Massacre without its counterpart in the Sicilian Vespers. These dark pages of mediæval history are there to show what political passion and racial rancour can do, even in the days of undivided religion.

This is not the only place in which, as we venture to think, De Maistre presses his arguments too far, and we cannot accept his conclusions without considerable reservation. Yet, when we remember the circumstances under which he wrote, we can scarcely be surprised, and we can even give him credit for his moderation; for he had to deal with opponents who had ignored the good done by the Church and the monarchy, and grossly exaggerated

any evils in their history. Hence it became necessary to lay stress on the brighter side of the story, to refute the false charges, and beat down the exaggerations; and in doing this, some unconscious excess in the opposite direction was almost inevitable. But, though De Maistre was second to none in his loyalty to the causes for which he contended, his zeal was controlled by his calm, judicious temperament, and his wide and varied reading. By this he was saved from the exaggerations which offend us in some of his followers or fellow-labourers. He had the courage and good sense to be moderate. He could vindicate tradition and the principle of authority without degrading the reason or falling into the error of the so-called Traditionalists. Nor did his hatred of materialism and his idealist tendencies lead him into the perilous paths of Ontologism. He boldly spoke for the rights of kings in an age of revolution; but this did not prevent him from rebuking their excesses. And while the authority of the Holy See has had no more leal and dauntless defender than Joseph de Maistre, his chivalrous nature saved him from adopting the intolerant tone of some later champions.

We have lingered so long on the work of De Maistre that what has been said might well suffice for the first phase of French Catholic literature; but before we turn our attention to other branches of the subject we must add a word on a lost leader of the religious revival. We might shrink from touching on a difficult and painful subject; but how can we speak of French Catholic letters without some notice, however brief and imperfect, of the Abbé Lamennais? Were it not for the tragic and untimely close of his Catholic career, his place in our literature would be very different; for if that course had but ended as it began, Lamennais must surely have been ranked among the foremost Catholic writers. Opinions may differ as to the merits of his peculiar system of philosophy, or the precise nature and extent of his errors, and the real cause of his unhappy rupture with Rome; but no candid reader of his *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*, or his later political writings, will be inclined to question his powers as a thinker and a master

of nervous eloquence. While he had much in common with De Maistre and the other writers we have named, he had some gifts of his own which might have raised him to a yet higher level; and we can readily understand the hopes awakened by the first volume of the "Essay on Indifference." It is idle to speculate on what he might have done in happier circumstances; but it may be safely said that his fall was the greatest loss that Catholic literature suffered in the past century.

Here some writers might pause to moralise on the danger of "Liberalism," for the name of Lamennais is clearly connected with what is known as the Liberal Catholic Movement. But we may venture to suggest that this painful episode should rather teach us another lesson, of somewhat wider application—the danger of extremes. If we were to judge from certain trenchant articles in a recent controversy, it would seem that all the danger lay in one direction only; but this would surely be a strange delusion. Half the heresies in history arose from a too strenuous resistance to some opposite error. To borrow a homely figure from St. Basil, the would-be champion of orthodoxy finds the plant bent too far to one side, and in seeking to put it straight bends it too far to the other.\* This would seem to be the source of some of the errors of Lamennais, especially in his earlier writings. But the curious thing is that he himself goes first to one extreme and then to the other; for even the reader who has no tincture of Liberalism must feel that the principle of authority is strained and exaggerated in the "Essay on Indifference." And if once the author's celebrated criterion of truth were generally accepted, it would provide a new stronghold for established abuses, and set up a fatal barrier in the path of progress.

It is a relief to turn from Lamennais to his younger disciples or associates, who stood firm in their loyalty after their leader's rupture with Rome; and it may not be amiss to add that, in the best and most natural sense of

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\* Cf. *Epist. ix., Maximo Philosopho*, where he says that Dionysius sowed the seeds of Arianism, not from malice, but "from an excessive desire of opposing Sabellius."

that much abused word, they were better Liberals than their master. This is especially the case with the great Catholic orator, the Dominican, Father Henry Dominic Lacordaire, who may justly be regarded as the type of a loyal Liberal.

The first leaders of the Catholic revival were champions of the monarchy as well as the Church; and Catholicism and Royalism seem to be inseparably associated in their writings. This was only natural, for the two causes had shared in a common suffering, and the revival in religion was largely due to a wave of reaction against the Revolution: and it can hardly surprise us that in the stress of strife, and while the days of the Terror were still fresh in their memory, they judged the democratic movement of the age with more severity than justice. They may be pardoned if they could not see that, after all, there was another side to the picture, and there were good as well as evil elements in the Revolution itself.

But it was, to say the least, unfortunate that the cause of the Church should seem to be identified with that of one political party, and Frenchmen, who shared the new-born love of liberty and popular government, should find themselves forced into antagonism to Catholicism. And, were it only for this reason, we might well be thankful for the political Liberalism of Lacordaire and Montalembert. They came to redress the balance, and their Liberalism may be set against the enthusiastic Royalism of so many other Catholic champions. It is true that, after the too brief association of religion with the popular government, the leaders of the French clergy appear to have cast in their lot with the new Imperial monarchy that rose on its ruins. It is not for us to judge them. Maybe they thought, with many others, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, that the Emperor was the necessary "saviour of society." And if this were so, the course then adopted may have been right and wise: but, whether necessary or not, it is to be feared that it has had an unfortunate effect in more than one quarter. And to some of us it is a satisfaction to recall the unswerving consistency of Lacordaire; for it was in his later years when, with many of his

Catholic countrymen, "Liberal" was a byword of reproach, that he made the memorable profession: "*Je compte vivre et mourir en Catholique pénitent, et en Libéral impénitent.*"

But the politics of Lacordaire formed only a passing episode in his career; and whatever view may be taken on this matter, it cannot effect his position in French Catholic literature. His brief and fruitless appearance as a Parliamentary deputy may soon be forgotten; but the voice of the champion of the truth, the foremost preacher of the Gospel to men of the nineteenth century, will yet be heard for many generations. It may be of interest to note that in his best and most enduring work, the "Conferences of Notre Dame," it is still possible to trace the influence of his lost leader, and catch some echoes of the "Essay on Indifference."

From Père Lacordaire we naturally turn to his friend and biographer, the Comte de Montalembert. We are not now concerned with his political career, nor need we dwell on the painful controversy in which he took part in his later years. It will be enough to say that in the one he was long the chief champion of the Catholic cause, and fought with courage and success for the liberty of religious education; and in the other, we could wish that his loyal service in the past saved him from the rancour of some too orthodox opponents. Happily, his literary work belongs, for the most part, to the more peaceful regions of religious history and hagiography. Here he was engaged in carrying forward the good work begun by Chateaubriand and De Maistre, and enabling the men of the modern world to appreciate the merits of their Catholic fathers. In the conspiracy against truth, which De Maistre discovered in modern history, the monks had certainly been marked among the foremost victims. They had long borne more than their share of ingratitude, neglect, and calumny. No amount of mere criticism or argument would suffice to refute these charges. The only satisfactory vindication was a true history, setting forth the facts as they really were, and showing the world what it owed to the monastic orders. This was the task undertaken, and successfully accomplished, by Montalembert, in his "Monks of the West."



As this vindication of the monks was nowhere more needed than in England, it is fortunate that the book soon found a competent translator in this country. While his great work was occupied with the merits of the older orders, the two books which may be ranked next in importance were his life of a mediæval Franciscan, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and the life of the modern Dominican, his friend and fellow-labourer, Père Lacordaire.

From these great names we turn to another writer, who is probably less known to the general reader ; but if we are not mistaken his services to Catholic literature are at least as important as those of many men who are far more conspicuous. To some readers, Frederic Ozanam is chiefly known by his active labours in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, or by his influence for good on the students who attended his lectures at Paris. But while he justly holds a high place as a teacher, and a type of a devout Catholic layman, he is not less worthy of remembrance as a literary critic and historian ; for few writers have done more to illustrate the gradual growth and historic continuity of European literature. Most readers are more or less familiar with the ancient classics, and have some knowledge, however imperfect, of the great poets who arose towards the close of the Middle Ages, and heralded the new world of modern letters ; but too many are apt to overlook the intermediate regions, which, though on a somewhat lower level, hold an important place in the process of literary evolution. It was the merit of Ozanam to throw a flood of light on these neglected pages of history ; and, under his guidance, the student may trace the first faint beginnings of Christian literature, and learn something of the early Franciscan poets who prepared the way for Dante.

We have already had occasion more than once to speak of some of the writers who have laboured in the revival or development of Catholic philosophy. Like other great works of the Middle Ages, Scholasticism had fallen into disrepute, and was treated by many with a contempt which certainly was not the outcome of too much familiarity ; and when the romantic movement taught us to appreciate the mediæval letters and architecture, it was only fair that the



philosophers should have their share in this new renaissance. Nor can it be said that this has been denied them. For the nineteenth century has seen the rise of a large and varied literature on this once neglected subject. Thus, not to speak of the numerous Latin or vernacular text-books, we have had many critical editions of the schoolmen, histories of philosophy, and not a few philosophical periodicals; but of all these books—and there are many of no mean merit—we cannot recall one that is better calculated to awaken the reader's interest and help him to a just appreciation of that old philosophy, than Ozanam's *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au 13<sup>me</sup>. Siècle*. Treated thus in connection with the master of mediæval poetry, that philosophy is seen to be, in the words of another great poet.

Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute.

In his labours as a professor, Ozanam was intimately associated with another eminent Catholic scholar, the Orientalist, François Lenormant. And some of our readers may remember how the latter, in attempting to follow his friend's example by defending religion in his lectures, provoked a hostile demonstration, which was quickly quelled when Ozanam gallantly came to his rescue.\* As this little incident would seem to show, Lenormant was inferior to his friend in natural eloquence, and in force of character. But there can be no question that as a scholar his own powers were the greater; for he was one of that brilliant band of Orientalists who have opened up new regions in early history by the light of the cuneiform inscriptions. Unlike some who wrote only for specialists, Lenormant was able to present the result of these researches in an attractive form, that brought them within the reach of ordinary students of history. At the same time, though not indeed one of the first pioneers, he was an original worker in the decipherment of the ancient inscriptions; and his patient labour and perspicacity threw no little light on some of

\* See O'Meara's "Life of Frederic Ozanam," p. 220, and an article by Cardinal Manning, DUBLIN REVIEW, Vol. XXVIII., p. 310, April, 1877.

the more obscure branches of this important study. Thus, while others, like Halévy and Delitsch, doubted of the very existence of Akkadian, Lenormant was already at work on a grammar of that mysterious language, wherein he established its relationship with the Altaic family.

On some of these points there is, doubtless, still some room for difference of opinion: but, if we are not mistaken, the result of more recent researches has tended to corroborate the views of Lenormant; and he is rightly regarded as a high authority. It is pleasant to add that this is especially the case among English writers. To quote Captain Conder: "It is allowed, even by very critical scholars, that Lenormant was right in connecting the Proto-Medic and Akkadian with the Ugro-Altaic languages; with Finnish, and less closely with Turkish and Magyar."\* Among other eminent Catholic Orientalists, we may mention Mgr. Charles de Harlez, of Louvain, who laboured in that field of Zend philology which had already been illustrated by Windischmann. As our readers have good reason to remember, Mgr. de Harlez was also a specialist in Chinese religious literature.† It would be easy to add a long list of Catholic writers of France or Belgium, conspicuous in this branch of studies. But we must now turn our attention to the wider field of historical criticism; and here, again, we must be content with one or two of the more important authors, who must be left to represent their brethren. The chief difficulty naturally lies in the task of selection, for whatever names we take, we can hardly hope to satisfy all our readers. But few, we fancy, will be likely to rebuke us for giving the first place in this field to the Abbé Louis Duchesne. For the long roll of modern critics and historians contains no name more illustrious

\* "Altaic Hieroglyphs and Hittite Inscriptions," p. 29. Elsewhere in the same work the author refers to "the great scholar, F. Lenormant."

† See an article on "The Primitive Religion of the Chinese," by Mgr. Charles de Harlez, *DUBLIN REVIEW*, July, 1884. It will be remembered that the eminent Orientalist was succeeded in his post of Professor of Zend and Pehlevi at Louvain University by Dr. Casartelli, Rector of St. Bede's College, Manchester.

than that of the author of *Les Origines du Culté Chrétien*, and the editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*. This last work, which is one of the best examples of modern critical methods, forms part of the voluminous *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*—a collection which alone might show that, even in this field, France has little to fear from a comparison with Germany.

As an instance of excellent historical work of a somewhat different type, we may mention the late Duc de Broglie's *L'Église et l'Empire Romain au IV<sup>me</sup> Siècle*. French Catholic literature owes much to this veteran statesman, and to his brother, the late Abbé Paul de Broglie, the author of some important works in philosophy and apologetics. This last writer's *Le Positivisme et les Sciences Expérimentales* may well be regarded as the best criticism of Comte's system from a Catholic standpoint.

Among lesser labourers in the field of history, it will be enough to notice M. Charles Barthélemy, who did some good service by his destructive criticism of certain fables dear to popular historians. But his temper is somewhat too militant for the muse of history, and it may be feared that it has sometimes carried him too far in his iconoclasm. It has certainly made his language more vigorous than polite; as may be seen in the very title of his book. But for this, he has already paid too severe a penalty.\*

As we have said already, we have no space to spare for other and lighter branches of modern French literature, or for the many popular works of devotion. There is, however, one book that claims at least some passing notice even in the most imperfect summary, both for its high literary merit and for the light which it sheds on French life and religion; for even the reader

\* We need hardly say that we are alluding to the way in which he has been pilloried in the pages of a well-known English work, where we are told that "many French Catholics were ready to accept without question what the Bollandist Père de Smedt has not hesitated to call the historical errors and lies of M. Ch. Barthélemy" ("W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," p. 119). Only those who know M. Barthélemy's *Erreurs et Mensonges Historiques*, can appreciate the irony of the situation.

who has made acquaintance with all the writers already mentioned can hardly form a just estimate of the treasures of French literature, if he fails to take account of Mme. Craven's *Récit d'une Sœur*. There is, however, no need to dwell on the merits of a book which is still deservedly popular, both in France and in our own country. Along with this masterpiece, we are tempted to mention another work which has something of the same peculiar charm, the "Journal of Eugénie de Guérin." In this, as in the *Récit*, we see the same faithful picture of Catholic home life, and a like spirit of genuine piety; while for its literary merit it will be enough to say that the little book, never meant for the eyes of the public, was crowned by the Academy, and won the warm praise of Sainte-Beuve and Matthew Arnold.

As types of all that is best in the French literature of the age, the above writers may suffice for our present purpose. But we need hardly add, that this sketch is not put forward as anything like a complete record of literary history; for there is scarcely one of the above writers who is not closely pressed by many others of kindred spirit, who may be fairly set on the same literary level. If proof of this were wanting, it would be enough to mention the names of scholars like Loisy and Le Hir, apologists like Nicolas, orators like Ravignan and Monsabré, or such men as Bishops Dupanloup, Freppel, and a host of others whose names may readily rise in the reader's memory.

Of the French Catholic periodicals, it will be sufficient to say that they are at least as numerous as those of Germany, and show the same varied excellence. Some of the chief literary organs, such as the Jesuit *Études Religieuses* and the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, are regularly brought to the notice of our readers; but though these are undoubtedly among the best of their kind, it is well to add that they are surrounded by many others in no wise inferior to them. And besides the general reviews, there are numerous organs devoted to some particular work, or to some special branch of sacred studies. Among those of a more scientific and scholarly character,

it will suffice to mention here the *Revue Biblique*, the *Revue Thomiste*, and the older *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*. And along with these, there are others of a more practical nature, too numerous to mention; for it may be said that there is scarcely any branch of study, or any good work or devotional practice, that has not some organ of its own in the varied periodical literature of France and Belgium.

Much that has been said of the German or French literature will also hold good, in some degree, of the Catholic literature of England. But here, though we are treading on more familiar ground, or rather, for that very reason, we are confronted by peculiar difficulties. It is true that we are in more danger of errors when dealing with the works of foreign nations; and on the niceties of style and similar matters, one who is not a native must always speak with diffidence. Yet, in some respects, it may well be that the outsider has the advantage. To seize the general contour of a landscape, one needs to be at a distance; and it is possible to be too near to objects to be able to form a just estimate of their proportions. At the same time, though the foreign critic has less knowledge, he may well have more detachment and impartiality. It is true, again, that here the task will be lightened by a sense of the reader's familiarity with the subject; and this will naturally allow us to take much for granted. But then we are met by the question, Is there anything that remains to be said? Is there any part of the field with which we are not all of us sufficiently familiar? Is there any forgotten work to be brought out into the light, or any chapter in the story that needs re-telling?

At first sight, it might seem that there was little to be done in this direction; for the works of our best writers are in the hands of all. There is no need to ask who holds the foremost place in this country, at any rate; for the sovereignty of Cardinal Newman is surely undisputed. And if we looked for the chief forces at work in the formation of our literature, the veriest tyro in these matters will point at once to the Oxford Movement and the far-reaching influence of its great leader. At this

time of day it would be a superfluous task to insist anew on these familiar facts, and an idle and hopeless attempt to put forward some new theory of literary history.

But on further reflection it will be seen that the story is not so simple as it looks; and however true in its main lines, the common account can only be accepted with some reserve or qualification. Let us not be misunderstood. We have no wish to minimise the significance of the Oxford Movement, or its quickening influence on the Catholics of this country: and we should be the last to question the pre-eminence of Cardinal Newman. We look on him as the great luminary in our literature—

. . . at whose sight all the stars  
Hide their diminished heads.

But as this simile itself suggests, there is some danger that the very brightness of this "imperious sun" may make us blind to the presence of some lesser lights of literature. And, in the same way, the real debt we owe to the movement, and the consequent tide of conversions, may lead us to do some injustice to the men of an earlier generation. This is the more likely, since, from the nature of the case, much of the earlier work has been superseded, and readers of the present day are content to judge it at secondhand, if not on *a priori* principles. Hence, we sometimes hear it said that the English Catholics of that time were without literary culture, or that they had narrow and retrograde notions, or took no interest in the conversion of their non-Catholic countrymen. And the critic who delivers these and similar judgments, will show how their unfortunate state was due to the lingering effects of the Penal Laws, and social isolation, and exclusion from the universities. The change for the better is then ascribed to the coming of the converts; and the battles fought on such subjects as the University question are explained as a struggle between the two elements.

On abstract principles, there is little to be said against this theory; but when we come to details, and try to

fit it with the facts, it is a different matter. The controversies are perplexed by constant cross divisions. New men from Oxford are conspicuous among the stalwarts of Catholic Conservatism, and many of the aboriginal Catholics are only too liberal and enlightened. And, what is more to our present purpose, there is abundant evidence of controversial zeal and literary activity in the days of supposed ignorance and stagnation, before the advent of the Tractarians.

Even in merely secular literature, the Catholics of that time had some notable successes. Thus, the "Classical Tour" of Eustace enjoyed a wide and continued popularity, as may be gathered from Dickens' jesting protest against its tyrannous authority. And Berington's "Literary History of the Middle Ages" still holds its place in a well-known popular library. The welcome given to these works by the English public is a curious comment on the alleged ignorance of the Catholic clergy. And their authors' liberal views, which laid them open to some censure, may be set against the other charge of narrowness and intolerance. Father Eustace, an Irishman by birth, was educated at Sedgley Park, which thus became the source of much classical information to many thousands of English readers. Father Berington, in collaboration with the Rev. John Kirk, another literary priest of that day, was one of the original authors of "The Faith of Catholics," a book which has since passed through numerous editions, and is still a standard work of Catholic controversy. An enlarged edition was published a few years ago, in America, by Monsignor Capel.

Some good work was also done, in the early years of the century, by Charles Butler, a leading Catholic layman, who carried on a religious controversy with the Laureate, Robert Southey, and published some Biblical works that showed him to be well versed in the scholarship of that period. He was one of the chiefs of the moderate, or Veto, party among the Catholic laity. As a nephew of the Rev. Alban Butler, the hagiographer, he formed a link with the Catholic literature of an earlier generation.



But the foremost writer in this, the first quarter of the century, was, undoubtedly, Bishop Milner, Butler's chief opponent in the Veto controversy. He, at least, is in little danger of being forgotten; for his works are still with us, and his name is written large in one of the most pleasing pages of Newman's "Second Spring." Few readers will be likely to forget that eloquent tribute to the "champion of God's ark in an evil day." As we are treating of the literature of the century, it may be of interest to note that Milner's "End of Controversy" was first written in 1801, the opening year of the new age, and published in 1818, the year before the appearance of De Maistre's book on the Pope. As recently as in 1896, a new edition of the work was brought out by the late Dr. Rivington, one of the ablest of later Catholic controversialists. This fact, in itself, suffices to show the enduring vitality of Milner's writings. This book and the "Letters to a Prebendary" were the author's chief contribution to polemical theology. But from a literary point of view, some readers might attach scarcely less importance to his "History of Winchester." Two features in this last work are deserving of special notice, to wit, the treatment of the Gothic architecture, and the denunciation of the Reformation pillage. By the first, Milner became one of the pioneers of a great artistic revival; and in the other, he may be regarded as a forerunner of Abbot Gasquet and Dr. Jessopp. It is some satisfaction to add that his words did not pass altogether unheeded; for we find the book reviewed in the *Quarterly Review* in 1810, and the critic, while taking exception to the author's controversial attitude, makes a naïve admission in regard to the plunder of "idolatrous" objects from the churches. "Objects of idolatry we believe them to have been; but had they been made of brass or iron, there would scarcely have been the same zeal and expedition displayed in removing them." And after predicting that the book would "always keep its place among the few standard works in English topography," he concludes by saying that, "with one superior amongst its own class, in point of original

genius, and several in classical erudition and elegance, with respect to what ought to have been its peculiar object, monastic antiquities, to science in discriminating the peculiarities, and taste in appreciating the beauties of monastic architecture, the "History of Winchester" stands unrivalled and alone."\*

With Milner, we naturally associate his younger contemporary, the historian, Dr. John Lingard. His "History of England" was no mean contribution to the historical literature of the century. And, though, it was not possible to avoid a certain amount of controversial matter, the story is clearly told in the broad impartial spirit of a true historian. Of his other works, it will be enough to notice his "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," and a Catechism, containing simple and solid instruction in Catholic doctrine. It could be wished that this last-named book were better known to the present generation of English Catholics. Along with Lingard, we may mention his friend and champion, Canon Tierney, of Southwark, who laboured at a new edition of "Dodd's Church History of England." About the same time, the learned writings of Dr. Rock, the author of *Hierurgia*, awakened a new interest in the history of Catholic doctrine and the ancient liturgies.

To this list we need only add the illustrious name of Cardinal Wiseman, a writer of greater original genius, and of more wide and varied learning, than those of any of his contemporaries. His early efforts in Oriental scholarship had awakened high hopes, which were only frustrated by his call to a more active field of labour. But, fragmentary as it is, his *Horae Syriacae* has yet left its mark on this branch of philology, and some of the young author's suggestions have been adopted by later scholars. As we look along the array of Wiseman's writings, we feel that this was by no means the only page of our literature that suffered some loss from his devotion to other duties: but though the volumes are fewer than we could wish, they certainly embrace a wide range of subjects, and take very various forms of literary

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\* *Quarterly Review*, Vol. III., p. 368.

expression. But whether he treats of philology or Biblical criticism, of liturgical services or doctrinal controversy, or Christian art and antiquities; and whether he speaks in sermons or lectures, in hymns or essays, or in the lighter vein of religious fiction, he never seems at fault or out of his element. Of him, far truly than in its original application, we may say *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*.

There was thus a considerable body of Catholic literature which had grown up in our midst in the days before the Oxford conversions: and there can be little doubt that, even without that infusion of new blood, or the treasures of genius and learning that came from the Tractarian Movement, this literature would have seen some further development in the latter half of the century. But it is obviously impossible to form even a plausible estimate of the nature or extent of this unaided development; for the mind refuses to contemplate even the abstract possibility of our Catholic literature being left without the presence and the inspiring influence of Cardinal Newman.

We have dwelt on the subject of this earlier, or, if we may so describe it, Ante-Tractarian literature, partly because it is sometimes overshadowed by the works of later writers, and partly because, without taking this into account, it is impossible to have a true notion of the change that followed. It was not the overflowing of waters into an arid soil, but the union of two broad streams of literature. We are not now concerned with other aspects or consequences of the memorable events of 1845 and the following years; these belong to the general history of English religion: but, as was the case with the earlier French revival, the Oxford Movement was at once literary and religious. The religious campaign in the English Church had been waged with literary weapons, and the leaders of the movement were all accomplished men of letters. This was especially the case with the group of converts who accompanied or followed their chief in his submission to the Holy See; and their coming naturally brought an access of new life and vigour to the Catholic literature of England.

It would be a pleasing task to go through all the chief works of Cardinal Newman, to point out some of their main merits, and attempt to estimate his place in English literature and Catholic theology. But it is, surely, needless to say much on books which are in the hands of all ; and we have little space to spend in superfluous praises. We have already had occasion to speak of what is undoubtedly his most important contribution to Catholic theology, the "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." Apart from its high theological value, the book has a special interest from the fact that it was written at the very crisis of the author's conversion, and, regarded from a purely literary standpoint, it is a masterpiece of luminous exposition. But if, at least in some respects, this may be safely considered as Newman's chief work, it by no means holds the same unique place in the author's writings that is held by such works as Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* or Möhler's *Symbolik*. The fame of these writers is mainly dependent on those books alone, but no one could say this of Newman's "Development" ; for among his voluminous writings there is more than one that stands on much the same level, and some of these others would probably be ranked above it by many readers. In any case it is clear that, with all its power and beauty, the book would give us but a very inadequate notion of the author's genius if we left out of sight such works as the *Apologia*, or the "Grammar of Assent," or the "Anglican Difficulties," the Sermons, the "Present Position of Catholics in England," or the two volumes of fiction, and the "Verses on Various Occasions." But if we are compelled to select our favourite works from the writings of Cardinal Newman, we shall scarcely be content with less than twenty volumes.

Some critics have attempted a comparison between the Catholic and Anglican writings. Mr. Gladstone, with a pardonable partiality, gave the palm to the earlier works, and complained that Dr. Newman as a Catholic had written nothing like his "Arians of the Fourth Century" and the "Oxford Sermons." But from a purely literary standpoint this judgment can hardly be sustained ; and it is not surprising to find such an excellent critic as Mr. Richard

Hutton taking a very different view, and pointing out that, in his later works, the Cardinal had displayed powers which had hitherto been hardly suspected, *e.g.*, in satire and irony. The powers, of course, were there before, but there was little scope for their exercise in the works to which he confined himself when in the English Church. There is certainly nothing in that period that suggests a comparison with such a volume as the "Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England"; but a careful reader may detect here and there some stray touches that give us a foretaste of that delicate irony. We may instance the grim humour of the picture of Bishop Newton, in the essay on "The Protestant Idea of Antichrist."

It would be a mistake, however, to make too much of this distinction, as though the works of Newman were to be separated into two diverse and contrasted portions; for, in truth, there is one continuous train of thought that gives them a real unity and consistency. And much that he says of the course of doctrinal development finds its application in his own writings; for in the "University Sermons" we may find the first conception of ideas that grow to fulness in the "Grammar of Assent" and the "Essay on Development." At the same time this advance is accompanied by corresponding changes in the powers of the writer himself. His eloquence takes a new warmth and tenderness in the Catholic sermons; his poetry achieves its highest light in "The Dream of Gerontius."

If we had to keep to the order of merit we should have considerable difficulty in dealing with those Catholic writers who come after Cardinal Newman. It is clear to all that he has the first place, but how many of us would agree in assigning the second? Without attempting to solve this problem, we may more safely adopt an order based on other considerations. And, for various reasons, it is natural to speak next of Cardinal Manning. His precise place in the hierarchy of letters is not very easy to determine, and the time has hardly come for a final verdict. But we venture to think that there is a tendency, among some critics of the present day, to rate his writings below their real value. This may be due to the fact that, during his

lifetime, they derived an additional and accidental importance from the office he held, and from the part he played in contemporary controversy; and the loss of this support would naturally lead to some reaction. Besides this, they suffer somewhat from being put in comparison with the greater works of Newman, or with the author's own achievements in other spheres of activity. But, though it is doubtless true that Cardinal Manning's chief greatness was in his active work as a bishop and ruler, and his writings alone could hardly place him in the front rank, it is none the less true that he had a genuine literary gift, and rendered no mean service to Catholic literature and theology. To assure himself of this the reader need only consider the stately English of Manning's Anglican sermons, the cogent logic of much of his Catholic controversy, the tender eloquence of his panegyric on Cardinal Wiseman, and his book on "The Eternal Priesthood." It may be safely said that some of these writings will live in Catholic literature when the critics who disparage them are happily forgotten.

Among the writers who remain to be noticed, there are few to whom our literature owes a deeper debt than to the Oratorian, Father Frederick William Faber. His natural gifts were of a high order, and if he had been drawn by earthly ambition he would probably hold a conspicuous place in the ranks of English poetry. At an early age his powers were recognised by Wordsworth, who said that in him England had lost a poet. But, *pace tanti viri*, the poet was not altogether lost to us; for in many of Faber's hymns there is a strain of genuine poetry. But to some readers this is obscured by the exuberant abundance of his compositions; for it must be confessed that he paid more heed to the demands of popular devotion, than to his own fame, or the ears of fastidious critics. In his voluminous mystical and ascetical writings Faber was cultivating a field that had suffered some neglect in this country; and his works hold a high place in this important branch of theological literature.

In a different field, some excellent work was done by Dr. William George Ward, whose name must be sufficiently



familiar to readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW. The diversity of gifts led to a natural division of labour; and while Faber was chiefly occupied on devotional subjects, his friend and fellow-convert gave attention to metaphysics and doctrinal controversy. Dr. Ward's labours in this field did a real service to the Catholics of this country, not only by his own writings, but by his indirect influence on others. But, from the nature of the subject itself, and from the ephemeral form in which most of his work appeared, there was, to say the least, some danger that his services might soon be forgotten. And the extreme line which he had taken in the embittered controversies before the Vatican Council made it likely enough that in some quarters his memory would be overclouded by prejudices and misunderstandings. Happily, both these dangers have been averted by Mr. Wilfred Ward's two volumes on "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement" and "William George Ward and the Catholic Revival." The writer of this admirable biography has raised an enduring monument to his father's memory, and his pleasing portrait should enable the most hostile critic to understand and appreciate the character of the stalwart Ultramontane. Apart from this personal interest, the volumes throw no little light on the course of Catholic thought in England and in Europe. The author, if we may say so, inherits something of Dr. Ward's insight in matters of philosophy, but in his case this is combined with the charm of a literary style and a delicacy in the treatment of difficulties—qualities that were not so conspicuous in the elder writer.

Among other writers on philosophical and doctrinal subjects, we may mention Father Harper, S.J., the author of "Peace through the Truth" and "The Metaphysics of the Schools"; and Father Dalgairns, of the London Oratory, whose works are too little known to the present generation. To these we may add the late Rev. H. N. Oxenham. Owing to this author's association with Dr. Döllinger, and to the heated state of the controversial atmosphere in this country, his scholarly volume on the Incarnation was treated with some injustice by certain Catholic critics.

While this good work was being done in the various



branches of theological literature, the field of history was by no means neglected. Here we have Mr. T. W. Allies' great work on "The Formation of Christendom," which treats of the Church in the days of paganism and the early Middle Ages, and shows how she was the true source of European civilisation. Among later labourers in this field the most conspicuous is Abbot Gasquet, whose works on the English monasteries and "The Eve of the Reformation" will be fresh in the remembrance of our readers.

A special place must be given to Mr. W. S. Lilly, whose writings cover a wide range of subjects. His "Chapters in European History" is a valuable contribution to historical literature: but it is also something more than its title suggests, for it treats at the same time of the philosophy of history, and contains some excellent literary criticism. But the larger part of his works is devoted to ethical philosophy and apologetics; and in the perilous arena of the monthly reviews he has long been one of the most conspicuous champions of Christendom.

All these various labours in the field of theology and its kindred sciences have not sufficed to exhaust all the literary activity of English Catholics; for many among them have done some excellent work in the wider regions of general literature. They may be found among the poets and novelists, the writers of biography, the literary critics and editors; and as some Protestant alarmists take care to remind us, they are well represented in the ranks of English journalism. Among some of the conspicuous names in these various walks of literature we may mention Coventry Patmore, Aubrey de Vere, Charles Kent, Miles Keon, and Percy Fitzgerald; and many other names will readily occur to the reader's memory. Some of these already belong to the past, and others are veteran survivors of the last generation. Among the more recent writers there are several Catholics who have won their way to the front ranks of English literature. Need we mention such names as Mrs. Meynell, Mrs. Craigie, Dr. Barry, and the poet, Francis Thompson?

Before we take leave of the subject, we must say a word on the Catholic periodicals of England. As our readers

do not need to be reminded, the present REVIEW was founded in 1836, and many of the most illustrious of the writers we have named have been frequent contributors to its pages: but though it was thus early in the field, the DUBLIN REVIEW had already been preceded by some other literary organs, such as the *Catholic Magazine* and *Andrews' Orthodox Journal*. These magazines, which did good service in their day, have long since passed out of existence; and the same fate has befallen *Dolman's Magazine*, the *Rambler*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, and the *North British Review*. The two last mentioned reviews, which were conducted by the same writers and represented liberal opinions, were remarkable for great literary ability. Matthew Arnold has said of the former: "Perhaps in no organ of criticism of this country was there so much knowledge, so much play of mind; but these could not save it." He added, rather unkindly: "the DUBLIN REVIEW subordinates play of mind to the practical business of English and Irish Catholicism, and lives." And while the name of the *Home and Foreign Review* thus survives in the pages of "Essays in Criticism," the *North British Review* has left its mark in Darwin's "Origin of Species." But though these organs have passed away, we are happily still surrounded by many excellent and vigorous Catholic contemporaries, such as the *Month*, in this country; the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, the *American Catholic Quarterly*, the *Catholic World*, and the *American Ecclesiastical Review*.

We are well aware that the foregoing sketch is far from adequate, and it would be easy to add many more names to the list of writers, and do more ample justice to the merits of those we have mentioned. And if what has here been said is enough to give the reader a favourable impression, what would his feelings be if, instead of this imperfect report, the books here noticed were arrayed before him? It is true that we have found more abundant treasures in France and Germany; but, even apart from a natural pride in our own countrymen, there are reasons for a yet deeper satisfaction at the sight of the good work that has been done in England. Beset as we are by many difficulties,

we have no little need of hope and encouragement. And we may find some ground for this, as we look back on the past century, and see how the Catholics of this country, in spite of their paucity and poverty, took their full share in the movement of revival, and sent this fair stream of noble thoughts and words well chosen to swell the deep, broad tide of Catholic literature.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

## ART. III.—DEVELOPMENT.

THE gift of bestowing names and inventing phrases is a dangerous possession, like the gift of mimicry. Germane to it is caricature. And the name or the phrase once started on its career is beyond control or recall ; and what it may grow into is imprevisible. Let a story be told by one to another, and go through many repetitions, it is often improved out of recognition before the first teller hears it again. It is the same with a name or a phrase. What it meant when first projected may be very different indeed to the meaning it acquires by publication and use.

The late Cardinal Newman all his days was not, indeed, an inventor, but rather a great discoverer of names. We may recollect the "*via media*," the "*catena*," the "*disciplina arcani*" of the "Tracts for the Times," names unearthed from an older minting, but still new stamped. We may reflect that the scholastic "note," and the exotic Aristotelian "*ethos*," have been incorporated in our language through Newman's use of them. Some of such words may have been used first by others from among his friends, but even then it would be his adoption that gave them currency. It is not all pure gain when the name has been found and bestowed with proper circumstance.

A catch-phrase or happy title becomes a kind of mnemonic that maintains the notion or theory in people's minds when other things slip out. It gives the notion or theory an importance beyond what it would otherwise possess in comparison with other things, as the name or phrase is caught up and becomes distinctive of a school. This occurs also unconsciously for the propagators of the phrases themselves, and reacts upon them. John Bright, when he named the political "cave," hardly intended the name to check that political independence of which he was

himself so illustrious an example, nor foresaw that he would in later years be among those who so employed it. The phrases Newman introduced had a similar fortune. There is no great use made of a "*catena*" of authorities in Catholic theology, and the "*disciplina arcani*" is not extensively applied; the schoolmen restricted the word "note" to a special and limited employment. Where, however, these expressions occur in Newman's writings, you would imagine that they were of much wider importance, and his employment of them is as general as can be; they give a character to his style and system.

"Development" was the last of Newman's words before he became a Catholic. The introduction of the word into our nomenclature has been unhappy. It existed before in Latin (*profectus*) and in Greek (*ἀνάπτυξις*). But in English it was scarcely heard or read as a theological term: it had nowhere any current or prepollent vogue, but for that introduction. Newman's "Development of Christian Doctrine," which naturalised it among ourselves, and perhaps beyond us, is an attractive book, both in itself and in the circumstances of its production.

It contains many *purpurei panni*, examples as good as can be found of that inimitable irony over which, wherever we meet it, we want to raise a war-whoop, examples of Newman's characteristic eloquence which stirs the blood as the fire-blaze on a frosty day. But the book occupies a special position, and this we are engaged in investigating. In the first place it has not any authority. This the "Advertisement" to the first edition expressly disclaims. "[The author's] first act on his conversion was to offer his work for revision to the proper authorities; but the offer was declined on the ground that it was written, and partly printed, before he was a Catholic, and that it would come before the reader in a more persuasive form if he read it as the author wrote it." Moreover, the book proclaims an origin which is not Catholic. Lingering vestiges of Tractarianism may be frequently traced by those familiar with the style; we recognise the curious twist that was given to common things in the controversy, given with a convincing assurance of certainty, so that the reader felt himself living in

a world which was right way up, while he was standing on his head. A few examples of what is meant may be given.

As illustrating the "preservation of type" in successive ages of the Church we have (p. 172): "Both Chaucer and Goldsmith have drawn pictures of a true parish priest; these differ in details, but on the whole they agree together." The difference, which is hardly a matter of detail, being, of course, that Goldsmith does not draw a priest at all, but a Protestant vicar. Then it is argued in favour of "the antecedent probability of a Popedom," that heretical bodies have had some centre of unity, and "the English Church affords an observable illustration of this doctrine." "As her prospects have opened and her communion extended, the See of Canterbury has become the natural centre of her operations. It has at the present time jurisdiction in the Mediterranean, at Jerusalem, in Hindostan, in North America, at the Antipodes" (p. 155). In fact, the Colenso case (in 1866) decided that the Archbishop of Canterbury had no jurisdiction at all outside Great Britain and Ireland, and subsequently the Protestant Church in Ireland has been withdrawn from his jurisdiction by the Act of Disestablishment in 1869. Once more, the "hypothesis of Anglican divines" is "that history first presents to us a pure Christianity in East and West, and then a corrupt; and then, of course, their duty is to draw the line between what is corrupt and what is pure. . . . Such a principle of demarcation, available for the purpose, they consider they have found in the *dictum* of Vincent of Lerins, that revealed and Apostolic doctrine is "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*" (p. 10). In fact, "Anglican divines consider" nothing of the kind suggested. The Anglican Church is Protestant, and has always claimed to be Protestant, and as Protestant her "principle of demarcation" is found in the Bible as she interprets it (Arts. vi. and viii.); and her *raison d'être* is a double denial of the Pope and of Transubstantiation. This is commonplace to ordinary people, to historians, politicians, and archbishops. If another account should ever prevail through the exertions of the Catholicising party, this will not alter the fact of

what was held up to the time of the Tracts. Finally, there is no cogent reason why the Mother of God should not be called St. Mary, but, as a fact, she is not usually so called by Catholics, and the expression, occurring everywhere in the "Development of Christian Doctrine," of itself marks the character of the work. So much as preliminary sketch of what the book is. How is its title to be understood, and what is its proper intention?

Newman, who was fond of distinctions, notices three senses in which the word "Development" may be used, according as it expresses the process or the result, and thirdly, when it is a faithless or false development that is intended. But this third he thinks is more properly to be called a corruption (p. 41). He was too much a purist in language to discover, or perhaps deign to notice, a further ambiguity. In his use of the term, the context and trend of the argument determined that it did not so much intend, did not at all intend, any process of doctrinal accretion, of the gradual building up through successive generations of the fabric of Christian belief. He is "engaged in drawing out the positive and direct argument in proof of the intimate connection, or rather oneness, with primitive Apostolic teaching, of the body of doctrine known at this day by the name of Catholic" (p. 169). The meaning of "Development" was, not that the Church had grown, so much as that it was the same Church. Doctrines and institutions were not novel, they had existed all along; we could find them, sufficiently for candid inquiry, in the earliest records. Thus, "the title *Theotocos*, or Mother of God, was familiar to Christians from primitive times" (p. 145), and "a partial fulfilment, or at least indications of what was to be [regarding Papal Supremacy], there certainly were in the first age" (p. 157). The argument was not that the existing doctrines and institutions have only their germs in antiquity, but that they belong to it. The stress lies on their being developments and not novelties; the stress does not lie in their being developments and therefore novel in form or degree.

Nevertheless, while such is the meaning of development according to the general context and bearing of the argu-



ment, it must be candidly admitted that the language used in particular passages is uncertain, and apart from the main contention might be misunderstood to convey a less Catholic intention. Thus, in one place the notion of the argument appears to be "that a certain large system of doctrine, such as that which goes by the name of Catholic, should admit of being referred to beliefs, opinions, and usages which prevailed among the first Christians" (p. 169). Being "referred to" primitive times is not apparently the same thing as the "oneness" claimed on the preceding page. And further, the objection is entertained that the proof even of so much is "not enough." The development must be shown not to be "corruption" instead. Surely, if the teaching is one and the same with the Apostolic tradition, there is no question of corruption, equally as there is none of development either in the less Catholic sense of the expression. Nor does it represent the Catholic understanding of tradition to explain that "the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients, but as being received and transmitted by minds not inspired and through media which were human, have required only the longer and deeper thought for their full elucidation" (pp. 29, 30). The Creed is not left in this way to human elucidation, but the Church has the Divine assistance in expounding it. And though subsequently the hypothesis of "an infallible developing authority" is maintained in Newman's argument, yet this is as if the definitions of Popes and Councils were elaborations of the Creed, and not made—as in the historical actuality, which Newman elsewhere allows—to distinguish the orthodox from the heretical doctrine on occasion of erroneous opinions being promulgated. No Council or Pope ever formulated a definition except on the expressed ground that the doctrine defined belonged to the tradition and had been held from Apostolic times. There is no fresh or new version of "the Faith once delivered to the Saints." Newman has been led astray sometimes by the ambiguity of the name he had chosen for his exposition. Nevertheless, what "Develop-

ment" means is to be discovered from the examples he alleges and the conclusion he draws, spite of any hesitancy in particular places, which may be readily understood and passed over.

The word "Development" belonged, the literary work belonged, to Newman's Protestant period. No doubt to its close, no doubt representing the unstable equilibrium of the threshold. But yet not the work of a Catholic, not written within the Church. It was only "when he had got some way in the printing" (Adv., p. xi.) that the author passed within the gate. The whole was written outside. A great work, a monumental work some might deem it, not to be laid aside, deserving to be acknowledged by the later Catholic theologian, but surely to be accepted with a certain reservation and allowance. In his preface to the edition of 1878, Cardinal Newman cautions the reader regarding possible error in the statements made. "Perhaps his confidence in the truth and availableness of this view has sometimes led the author to be careless and over-liberal in his concessions to Protestants of historical fact." The reader is not to put faith in such statements as being true in themselves. "If this be so anywhere, he begs the reader to understand him as speaking hypothetically, and in the sense of an *argumentum ad hominem* and *a fortiori*."

The work belonged to an entire series, which the Cardinal did not withdraw—for a number of reasons which appeared sufficient to himself, and which it would be an impossibility for any one else to question—but preferred to reissue under his own control, works that belonged to his Protestant career, and were to be understood as so belonging. The "Development of Christian Doctrine" is to be reckoned among his Protestant works; it was not written by him as a Catholic, as a member of the Body of Christ. There is no convert, there is no Catholic Christian, who should not at once appreciate the difference.

Every Catholic is assured that his own *ethos*—to use Newman's word—is essentially different to that of the Protestant, however nearly the Protestant may approach the ancient discipline in sympathy and belief. Every convert is aware that there is a broad and unmistakable

difference between himself as a catechumen and as a Churchman of ten years, of five years, even of one year's standing. You may account for this naturally, as every tyro is different from the mature professor, as the formed habit of mind and thought possesses a different character from the first intellectual adhesion. But the Catholic accounts for it supernaturally. Outside the Church the speculations of an honest mind may be assisted by the free operation of Divine Grace. Within the Church the entire nature is under Grace according to the Covenant, Grace habitual, Grace direct and through appointed and effective channels. Who would question for a moment that the great English Oratorian acknowledged with the whole fervour, with the whole humility, of his Catholic profession, this elementary difference? The greatest, the most developed, of his Protestant writings, labours, therefore, and he would mark it for us as labouring, under this initial defect.

Accordingly, it becomes matter for considerable regret that there is a prospect of this particular publication becoming the best known of Newman's works, and that by which the author is best known. People pin their faith to it, owe to it, perhaps, their conversion, make it their "*Imitatio Christi*." It speaks their own language, that of the imperfect Catholic; it leaves to them some of their cherished individualisms; it recalls to them their happy childhood's hours. But, apart from these special interests, it is not the book its admirers suppose.

Literary criticism finds deficiencies; literary criticism knows nothing of any personal predilection; it perceives in a moment the very unequal merit of the several portions; it even finds evidence of a jaded mind and work done as a task, without heart in it. We may understand and reverently pass over such literary failing. The preliminary philosophising is crude, and lacks deductive connection with what follows. The illustrative examples, the historical and documentary evidences, are sometimes full and convincing, but in other places the author seems to weary of his undertaking and to be content with what comes first to hand. Thus there are seven "*Notes*" proposed of a true Development. The application of the first, Preservation of

Type, occupies 116 pages of the volume, and all the remaining six are rushed through in 121 pages more, the fourth and sixth Notes making only seventeen and eighteen pages respectively. It is impossible to suppose that this proportion represents the original design, and that it is not instead a half-hearted and weary completion. Then, further, the coherence of the argument fails. Preservation of Type should apparently regard *doctrine*, as the other Notes, in fact, mainly do, and this one was represented also in its first introduction as applicable to doctrine (chap. ii., sec. 1); the subject is "The Development of Christian Doctrine." But as applied, Preservation of Type becomes that the typical character of the Catholic Church is identical, the appearance she presents is the same, in the earliest ages with that which we behold to-day. She is charged with superstition and moral depravity in the first centuries, and is so charged still; she exhibits a marvellous organisation and an unaccountable force in the fourth, and she does the same to-day; she is opposed and obscured by heresies in the fifth and sixth, and the same malevolence and confusion exist for ourselves. The argument is carried out with amazing erudition and controversial cogency to a length disproportionate to the rest, so that this appears as the main subject and the proper thesis sinks into insignificance. These sections had almost certainly a different date of composition from the rest, and were introduced as similar material lying ready to hand, or even the main fabric may have been built up around them, not with the best congruity. However, what remains in the reader's mind as the result of his reading is hardly "The Development of Christian Doctrine," but what might be expressed in some such phrase as "The Identity of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth and in the First Six Centuries." Had such been the title of the volume, half of it would have been irrelevant; the duller and less conclusive half, it is true, and a half that could well be spared. But with the present title the issue becomes confused. For the sections on "Preservation of Type" are among the most finished examples of the author's peculiar genius—the sympathetic acquaintance with Christian antiquity, the wide familiarity

with the opinions and language of the early Fathers, the logical sequence of the argument, the moderation of statement, the lucidity of style. Finally, the conclusions of the several sections—"if there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is accused of gross superstition," &c.—are examples of Newman's special irony nowhere surpassed in his works, and recalling the celebrated "Blot No. 1," &c., of the earlier editions of the "Apologia." The issue is confused because this is what excites the reader's enthusiasm, while he knows of the book as being about Development, which he thereupon imagines himself a believer in, and getting little aid from his impression of Newman—an impression extremely hazy—interprets according to his own associations with the word. To arrive at Newman's sense from the book itself, needs an attentive and reflective and discriminating study of his language, comparing one passage with another and retaining in mind what has gone before in the perusal of what follows—a labour which is uncongenial to most readers, and which would concern the less interesting and attractive portion of the argument. This is not generally done. Newman's word and not Newman's idea or explanation is what survives. A work which is characteristic, which is brilliant, which is certainly able and important, is made the leading motive of his teaching, and all else is forgotten or assigned a secondary place, a work which expresses Catholic ideas, but still from the standpoint of Protestantism, and with lingering Protestant inadequacy, to say no more.

As an example, it will be noticed that the author seems eager to assert his devotion to the Mother of God ; he introduces her cultus as illustration with over-frequency and at the risk of tediousness ; in this particular, at any rate, whether Papist or not, he is resolved to define his attitude ; and there is just a little aggressiveness in the language ; we catch the accent of one who not only finds Protestantism false, but feels it repulsive. This is all very excellent and commendable. And yet, partly through want of instruction, through the absence of Catholic association, what the writer intended to express is not there, and the imagined out-reach of devotion to our Lady remains still within the Protestant

fence. One of the most splendid oratorical passages Newman ever wrote, so ingenious, so dazzling, so triumphant as to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect, the passage about the "wonder in heaven" (chap. iv., sec. ii., 8)—far-reaching towards a true Catholic *ethos*, as it doubtless appeared at the time of writing, is in reality gratuitous interpolation, and hovers on the verge of error. The new account depends—or else it cannot get under way at all—on the thesis that "there was in the first ages no public and ecclesiastical recognition of the place which St. Mary [*sic*] holds in the economy of grace; this was reserved for the fifth century" (*ib.* 10). But he had himself before discovered that "the title *Theotocos*, or Mother of God, was familiar to Christians from primitive times" (p. 145). And the thesis denies by implication the Assumption of our Lady within the Apostolic age. Newman may very possibly not have yet reached or contemplated a belief in it. The relation to Catholic doctrine is frequently strange, and what might be termed amateur. Regarding the veneration of images, he thinks that "it may be reasonably questioned whether" the prohibition in the Decalogue "was intended in its letter for more than temporary observance" (p. 422). As though the veneration of images was a species of idolatry! We do right to recall the words of the postscript to the first edition (quoted above, p. 3), and assure ourselves that the work has no Catholic authority. And it is no less proper to remind ourselves that this is not the writing of Newman as an expositor of the Church's doctrine, but as still outside her fold, and that the writing is only allowed by its author to stand as "an *argumentum ad hominum*" (preface to third edition). The work may be fairly Catholic, but it is not a Catholic work.

It is thus regrettable, on the several grounds that have been exhibited, if the "Development of Christian Doctrine" is to be made Newman's representative work. It is further, and especially regrettable, because the book is, nevertheless, neither largely nor attentively read. The meaning of its very title is misconstrued. Development is known as applied to the origin of natural species or to "The Nebular Hypothesis," and no one troubles to learn more. Then

comes into familiar use, not the true ancient Catholic notion denoted by the name, but a modern theory. The famous English Cardinal, who reached in our feebler age the stature of his predecessors, the man of culture, literary and artistic, the man who learned Catholic Christianity out of pure single-mindedness and native humility, is made the prophet of religious liberalism, and throws his aegis over every kind of speculative adventure. There are, at least, six undesirable consequences that result :

1. First of all, it is a literary misapprehension unfair to Newman himself. The tenor of his Catholic writings, and of others, the "Development" itself on fifty pages, might be quoted to prove, if proof were necessary, that the mind of Newman was impatient of anything new, original, or independent in religious thought, that it preferred instead submission of judgment and docility, that it was attracted by antiquity and jealous of tradition. His political opinions were Tory, and it was not likely that he would be a "Liberal" in religion.

2. Secondly, the misconception of Development gives allowance to critics (English Protestants as our concern in this country), and betrays the Catholic apologist's defence. When any question of origin arises, it is easy to explain a doctrine or institution as not to be discovered in its present form or in its full significance during the primitive age; it is more difficult and more laborious to trace its presence by the witness of the rocks, so to speak, or to evaluate the measure and weight of an emergent tradition. Thus points of vantage are abandoned or ignored, and Catholic defence looks foolish when independent research establishes conclusively what had been admitted as untenable. Till within the last few years it was open to such timid apology to have thrown to the critics the authenticity of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, just as it is still open to allow the "development" of man from the monkey, and waive the missing link!

3. Thirdly, Christianity is really assailed in its origins. A picture is presented of the Apostolic Church which might seriously shatter the faith of Catholics, if the faith of Catholics rested on archæological solutions. Expressly as supporting the modern theory, people bid us not to expect to dis-



cover the Catholic Church in the first age, but rather some such imaginary *mise en scene* as Protestants have devised for "primitive" Christianity. Newman's application of his Development hypothesis besoms this sort of thing to one side. "[The Catholic Church] is the nearest approach," he writes, "to say the least, to the religious sentiment, and what is called *ethos*, of the early Church, nay, to that of the Apostles and Prophets" (p. 100). The opposite account may, indeed, possibly be inconsistent with orthodoxy; it is very certainly inconsistent with critical archæology, and with Newman. Yet the believers in this pseudo-Development continue to use Newman's name as much as possible, and appropriate the prestige of his leadership—and have got the wrong end of the stick.

4. Fourthly, the latest theory of Development, once admitted in ecclesiastical research, naturally and inevitably predisposes to the acceptance of that which fathers it. The pretensions of modern scientific hypothesis become congenial to the mental attitude, and a rationalising explanation is admitted for a dozen other provinces which are included in or border upon the empire of faith. The Sacred Scriptures—so the tale runs—have grown up under human conditions. Moses or Ezra is merely the "redactor" of the Pentateuch, and the life of our Lord is narrated after the manner of the history of Thucydides. The *Magnificat* is not the actual thanksgiving of the Blessed Virgin, but is made up out of some recollection of forty years back, supplemented and cast into literary form according to the notions of the Evangelist. A haze of uncertainty attaches to the foundations of Christian hope, and we are no longer, like the Corinthians, "made rich in Christ in all utterance and in all knowledge, as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in them" (1 Cor. i. 5, 6). The sayings and discourses of Jesus have been "developed."

5. Fifthly, the conversion of England is arrested. The Church, instead of being that paradox which Newman and St. Paul described it—sorrowful, yet always rejoicing, poor yet making many rich, the refuse and sweepings of creation, yet more than conqueror—would come, if it might be, into line with enlightenment in general, and take its place in the

surrounding social life: its education, its political activity, its philanthropic enterprise taken into account, and fairly comparing with the general achievement, nay, sometimes commended as superior in merit; neither the *Times* nor a Secretary of State refusing to recognise Church opinion. All that need be said is that Newman's "Identities of Type" must accordingly disappear.

6. Lastly, and this is sufficient if all else did not exist, such perversion contradicts the Divine parable that the new texture, the new wine, is the Gospel itself, and there is no further innovation. Christianity is not modern, because it is the Revelation of God, who is the Self-Same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. There is no room in it for the modern spirit alongside of the Spirit of God. The religious life is the same in every age, the religious faith, the religious obedience. Our deficiency to-day, or our saving sweetness, is the lack or reproduction of the old sanctity, as it existed in the third century, or in the thirteenth; nothing superior, nothing more fruitful, nothing more mighty to the overthrow of evil, now producible, however changed our conditions. Prayer is still in our world more than social activity; the monk and the nun advance best the kingdom; to be unknown, to be hated by all, to bear the reproach of Christ, is what wins; and if we should lose, it must be because we had first lost our Christian token, the white stone of identity with the "Rejected of men."

J. HERBERT WILLIAMS.

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## ART. IV.—BISHOP GRANDISSON.

AT the north-west end of the Lake of Neuchâtel, in the Canton de Vaud, stands, covered with ivy, a picturesque old château. It bears the name of "Grandson," corrupted from Grandisson. Lambert de Grandisson, as far back as 1090, was Bishop of Lausanne, in which diocese the castle and town of Grandisson were situated. Prebendary Randolph gives us the pedigree of the House of Grandisson from Theobald, Lord of Sarrate and Grandisson, who died before 1228. Inter-marriages with the families of the Counts of Neuchâtel and the Lords of Chillon augmented the power and wealth of the race, and in the latter half of the thirteenth century they had acquired land and influence in England. The last of the line who held the old château on the lake was Sir Otho de Grandisson, who died in 1328, and was buried in the Cathedral of Lausanne, where his recumbent effigy may still be seen. This old crusading baron was thrice in the Holy Land—once with Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1270, again in 1290-92, and for the last time in 1308.

The piety of this illustrious house was remarkable. In a single generation, out of five sons, grand-nephews of St. Thomas of Hereford, one, Peter, who lies buried in the Lady chapel of Hereford Cathedral, married Blanche, daughter of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March; the remaining four were priests, one being the great Bishop of Exeter with whom we are now concerned. His niece, Matilda de Grandisson, was Prioress of the Augustinian Priory of Acornbury, in Herefordshire; and similar examples of piety occur in every succeeding generation.

John de Grandisson, seventeenth Bishop of the See of Exeter, was born in 1292 at Ashperton, in Herefordshire, and was the second son of William de Grandisson, brother

and heir of Otho, of whom we have just spoken, and who seems to have left no issue. William died June 27th, 1335, and was buried at Dore Abbey. His wife, Sibilla, daughter of Baron Tregos, died a year before her husband, and was likewise buried in Dore Abbey. Sibilla was the grand-daughter of Juliana de Cantilupe, sister of St. Thomas of Hereford. She had a Papal dispensation, or indult, for "five years, to visit the Cistercian Monasteries of Dore and Flaxley," and be present with six ladies of her suite at the *Requiem* chanted for the souls of her husband's children—an expression probably implying that she was not his first wife.

Before proceeding with our subject we cannot but express our admiration for the noble biography of Bishop Grandisson with which the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph has prefaced this his latest volume of the Exeter Registers. To his monumental labours we are indebted for the facts on which this essay is written. They furnish a detailed account of the ecclesiastical state of the vast diocese of Exeter to which I know no parallel. In Father Gasquet's "Eve of the Reformation" the learned author justly affirms that the old theories as to the causes which led up to the Reformation are absolutely untenable, and adds that "it is impossible at present to substitute a new synthesis for the old." A wise and prudent consideration, certainly; but as the said causes are likely to have been of long standing, and as Protestant writers describe the reign of Edward III. as the period in which "appeared the first symptoms of the revolt of England against the Papal authority," mainly through the writings of Wycliffe, it may well be that in so vast a collection of documents relating to the ecclesiastical condition of the West of England we may find some assistance towards forming our judgment on that important historical problem. Grandisson's episcopate (1327-1369) witnessed the most important part of the Scottish wars, the Battles of Crecy and Poitiers, the Black Death, and the beginnings of the career of Wycliffe, whose earliest work, "The Last Age of the Church," appeared in 1356, and who began openly to preach his heresy six years before the Bishop's death. The minds of men in England

must also have been more or less affected by the confusion in matters ecclesiastical caused by the residence of the Popes at Avignon, whereof we have such vivid evidence in the history of Grandisson's contemporary, St. Bridget of Sweden, and in other records of that age. The evils felt so keenly at the seat and centre of authority must needs have been painfully realised even in England, especially during the long and cruel wars with France, at a time when the Popes were Frenchmen by birth, and resided in that kingdom. But it is best for our purpose to follow our author's lead in his admirable and impartial biography.

John de Grandisson studied theology at Paris under Peter Fournier, afterwards Pope Benedict XII. On the 12th of October, 1310, though only eighteen years old, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Nottingham. For some time he resided at Avignon as chaplain to John XXII., to whom he was warmly attached and by whom he was held in the highest esteem. Whatever may be said of abuses in the course of ecclesiastical promotions in the fourteenth century, it is certain that in many instances, as in the present, the discipline of the Church resulted in the formation of heroic and saintly bishops, men of undaunted courage, lofty spirit, and fearless zeal for the house of God. Bishop Berkeley, of Exeter, died on the 24th of June, 1327. Setting aside the election of John de Godeleghe made by the Dean and Chapter, the Pope at once appointed Grandisson to the See of Exeter, and he was consecrated in the Dominican Church at Avignon by the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina on the 18th of October in the same year. He was then in his thirty-sixth year.

His troubles began at once. Before he could leave Avignon he was called upon to pay the debts of his predecessors to the amount of 11,800 florins. Payment was out of the question. He was far from rich; heavy expenses must be incurred at the taking possession of his diocese; and, unfortunately, in the great confusion that had followed the foul murder of Bishop Stapledon, much dishonesty and rapine of the episcopal revenues of Exeter had been the result. He plainly told them he had not the

money and could not pay, and the Pope took his part. Eventually, he was held responsible for the liabilities incurred by his predecessors, though he strongly protested ; but the claim on him was reduced to 5,000 florins. On the 23rd of December he started from Avignon for England. After a difficult journey, in the depth of winter, he arrived at Dover on the 3rd of February, 1327-28. Two days later he was at Canterbury. The Archiepiscopal See being vacant by the recent death of Archbishop Reynolds, he took the oath of canonical obedience before the Prior and Chapter.

Not till the 9th of June was he able to enter his diocese, and the weary proceedings of these four months give a fair idea of the harassing interference in matters of Church government which, through the jealousy of the Crown, had become an established custom. Edward III. was holding his Parliament at York, the same Parliament in which he acknowledged the right of King Robert Bruce to the sovereignty of Scotland. The instrument of renunciation was signed by Edward on Tuesday, March 1st, and on the following Sunday the new Bishop of Exeter arrived at York. The next day the King heard Mass in the chapel of St. Sepulchre, attached to the Cathedral—a pleasing reminder that daily assistance at Mass was then the custom of our English kings—Bishop Grandisson being in attendance on his sovereign. Immediately Mass was over Edward gave him a brief, but kindly, audience, and appointed the 9th for his formal reception and the presentation of the Apostolic letters. On that day the Bishop appeared before the King and Council, presented his letters, and retired, while Edward and his advisers examined them. After waiting for a short time, he was recalled to the Council-chamber. The Archbishop of York then addressed him in the presence and in the name of the King, telling him that he was bound to explain the custom of the realm in all similar cases, and that, in accordance with the said custom, he must forthwith renounce all words contained in the Apostolic letters that might prejudice the rights of the King, and submit himself to the King's grace therein. Odious as this measure seems,

it had become a matter of form, with which Grandisson was no doubt well acquainted. He at once returned the usual answer: that, saving his profession of obedience to the Pope, the rights of the Holy See, his episcopal Order, and the rights of his Church of Exeter, he was prepared to renounce all such words in the Pope's letters, as his predecessors had done, and to submit himself to the King's grace as to the temporalities of his see. By word of mouth, the temporalities were then restored to him. He then took the oath of fealty to the King, reiterating his protest that he only did so, saving his obedience to the Holy See and the other rights, as aforesaid.

With his usual candour, the biographer adds in a note: "*Fecit fidelitatem* (fealty), not *homagium*. In Bishop Stapeldon's *Itinerary*, I inadvertently wrote: 'He does homage to the King.' . . . Homage was first demanded by Henry VIII., after he had assumed the Supreme Headship of the Church of England." Prebendary Randolph then explains the motive for exacting the said renunciation. Clement V. had, in an appointment to the Archbishopric of Armagh, expressly stated that he committed to the new Bishop the care of the diocese in spirituals and *temporals*; and the formula was continued by the Roman Curia in Bulls of Provision. Against the last words, "in temporals," the Kings of England protested. I am not by any means able to subscribe to the author's opinion that the Crown was quite within its rights in exacting the renunciation. At the same time, the proceedings were tolerated by Rome, and the saving clauses expressed by the Bishop really left matters where they were before, each party being anxious to avoid a quarrel. But to what excesses the Royal pretensions might lead could easily be foreseen, long before they were realised in the reign of Henry VIII. In course of time the minds of men became familiarised with this attitude of the English monarchs towards the acts of the Holy See, and the assumption of the Supremacy by a Tudor sovereign was thereby rendered easier.

Leaving York on the 10th, Bishop Grandisson reached his father's house at Oxenhall, near Gloucester, on the



24th, and stayed with his parents till the 22nd of April. While at Oxenhall he received a Royal mandate to attend the Parliament opened at Northampton on the 4th of May, for the purpose of ending all difficulties with the Scottish King, and arranging a marriage between Prince David Bruce and the Princess Joanna. No entreaties on the Bishop's part could obtain his release from this most distasteful and expensive duty of attendance in Parliament. His feelings are expressed in his letter to the Pope :

"When it is all over," he writes, "I shall hasten to my flock and diocese ; though the King, having caused my land to be sown during the vacancy, will be entitled to all the fruits thereof, and nothing will remain to me, after Michaelmas, except the spiritualities and a few rents. Well, I shall have to live as if I were a spirit, and poorly enough, on that pittance. I do not doubt, nay, I am nearly sure, that if I were to press the King he would not refuse to help me ; but my friends do not advise me to take such a course, because the King is himself in want of money, having quite recently succeeded to the Throne, and all men, whatever their rank may be, find themselves in difficulty at such a time. Moreover, he is about to assert his hereditary right to the kingdom of France, which will be a costly enterprise, and already subsidies have been demanded from the clergy and people. I scarcely know, therefore, how I could ask him to surrender to me what is his due, seeing that he is himself compelled to seek aid from others." On the 22nd of August he was at last able to enter his Church of Exeter, where he was received with joy by his clergy, though the Proctor of the Archdeacon of Canterbury stood at the door of the church during the ceremony, and forbade the Bishop to enter unless he were willing to be enthroned by himself. Lord Courtenay also claimed as his right the Bishop's palfrey and the silver vessels he might use at the enthronisation. Grandisson refused to acknowledge either claim, telling Lord Courtenay he would rather walk to the church and use wooden or glass vessels than submit to such an imposition ; that in the case of a bishop appointed by the Apostolic See, all

claims of this nature were inadmissible. He was, in fact, in dire straits for money, and made pressing appeals to the ecclesiastics of his diocese, urging the heavy sums he had had to disburse in Rome as payment of his predecessors' liabilities. The Abbot of Ford answered that he was too poor to help, but the other communities liberally responded to their Bishop's appeal, and his own relatives came to his assistance. Lord Courtenay, Earl of Devon, however, the Bishop's own cousin, irritated by the rejection of his claims, took occasion to read the Bishop a lecture on living within his means and with becoming modesty. He had heavy expenses on hand on account of his daughter's marriage; and as for lending money to bishops, he had done so already, and had no hope of ever seeing his money again. The Bishop's answer was mild, but dignified. He had, he said with justice, been educated in the school of prelates, and did not see his way to go to school again; and how could a bishop be expected to go to school to a knight?

I have gone sufficiently at length into the beginnings of Grandisson's episcopate. The picture is not without instructive features, but we must pass on to other matters, only noting that the first religious house visited by him was the Abbey of Buckfast. His relations with the religious houses occupy a large part of his correspondence. For the object I have in view it is needful to gather what information we can on three heads—the contest between the Church and lay usurpers; the state of the clergy, secular and regular; and the introduction of heretical opinions.

Between the Bishop of Exeter and King Edward III. there seems to have been no dispute worthy of note. Grandisson was a loyal subject, scrupulously observant of his oath of fealty. In 1333 he made an energetic appeal to his diocesans to join in prayer for Edward III. in his Scottish wars. The King had written, earnestly asking for prayers.

But if there was complete harmony between the Bishop and the King, it was far otherwise as regards the feudal barons and their retainers. The bishops of England resisted their lawlessness with an iron will, and none with

greater firmness than Grandisson. Fierce retaliations against the clergy were the result, and the populace was not slow to follow the example of the armed vassals of the nobles. A few years previously Bishop Stapeldon had been slaughtered by the London mob. When, in 1329, the Bishop of Exeter was summoned to a Provincial Council in St. Paul's Cathedral, he declined to go, as the Council was to be held in London, where his predecessor had been so recently murdered and the crime left unpunished. According to Grandisson, the bishops had been compelled to swear they would take no steps towards bringing the murderers to justice, and the people sided with the assassins. He affirmed that the City magnates were as guilty as the rabble. His London house had been plundered and destroyed, and he found Chudleigh a safer place than London. He concludes: "The Lord Bishop of Exeter is quite unable to attend, with due regard to his safety and his honour. He cannot attend safely, because, if he were present, he would feel compelled to take measures to secure the punishment of the men who had committed such an outrage on his predecessor. He cannot attend with due regard for his honour, for it would not become him to take his place in the Council and allow such a crime to be passed over in silence." The murderers, however, were publicly excommunicated by the Council.

Outrages on the clergy were far from unfrequent. In 1330 an armed band took possession of the parish church of Whitchurch, near Tavistock, and would allow no services to be held in it; in the church of Yealmpton the episcopal commissaries were only saved from death by the courage of a noble lady, Dame Margaret de Monthermer, and similar scenes occurred elsewhere. These cases were sometimes owing to ecclesiastical disputes, but by far the most serious conflicts were those between the Bishop and the nobles. In 1335 Grandisson writes to the Primate complaining of the Earl of Cornwall—the King's brother—who was constantly forcing the clergy into his lay courts, even such Churchmen as were not his tenants, and usurping the Bishop's rights. "Over and above this," he says, "I have to reckon with the mad conduct of that silly old man,

the newly fledged Earl of Devon, who will not allow the men on his estates to make their wills, or any such wills, if made, to be proved before the Diocesan, and he excludes from his domains all exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. In his private chapel he ignores the interdict which I have laid upon them, and although he is possessed of no special privilege that anybody has ever heard of, he arranges for celebrations, or rather profanations therein, continually, not having obtained, or even asked for, any licence from me."

All over the country such excesses were rampant, and the Council of London, in dealing with them, was supported by the King. But in truth the traditional policy of the Norman line of kings towards Rome was imitated by the barons with regard to their diocesan bishops, and the population easily followed their example, though the King would fain have allowed no misconduct but his own. As a concurrent cause towards the usurpation of Henry VIII., the evil example of the Crown, continued for centuries, cannot well be neglected. The evil was widespread, and when we read of such cases as that, in 1347, of Sir Theobald de Grenville's retainers, to the number of five hundred, by whom the episcopal manor-house and the priest's house at North Tawton were sacked, and some of the inmates murdered, we feel that these scenes of ruffianism could not but have an evil effect on the mass of the people.

It is not so easy to form a certain judgment on the state of discipline among the clergy. The abuses referred to in the episcopal registers are serious, but they are local, not general. They are always referred to as exceptional cases, and were in every instance dealt with sternly, and completely removed by Bishop Grandisson's determined and energetic action. The source of the evil is evident. After Bishop Stapeldon's murder, unprincipled men had taken advantage of the confusion to intrude themselves under lay patronage into the benefices of the diocese. The worst instance, perhaps, was that of Exeter Cathedral. The Bishop found himself obliged to forbid the Canons going a-hunting, hurrying through the Divine Office with unseemly haste, talking to one another in choir, and going out even before the

Canonical Hours were finished. He orders the due pauses to be made at the beginning and the end of each verse, and the choir-books to be all exactly alike in the musical notation. Irreverence at divine worship and want of hospitality were the chief faults Grandisson had to find with his Cathedral clergy. His firmness at once overawed the refractory ; but while he was absent on the visitation of his diocese news was brought that disorders had broken out afresh. Complaints were made of unbecoming levity in choir, of jeering in English at mistakes that occurred in reading the lessons, and that some in the upper stalls had deliberately dropped the grease from their candles on the heads of those below them. The Bishop ordered the delinquents to be three times rebuked in Chapter, heavily fined if refractory, and excommunicated if they continued obstinate. He was completely successful in the end, but not till the Dean had been suspended and excommunicated. At each fresh act of contumacy the Bishop's severity increased, his iron hand falling always more heavily on those in authority, whose example perverted their subjects. On the petition of some complainants, a Royal Commission was appointed to correct alleged abuses committed under cover of ecclesiastical privilege. The Commissioners imprisoned and condemned three priests—Paul Brey, Richard Giffard, and John de Pilton. Without any hesitation Grandisson declared the Royal Commissioners excommunicated. Three out of four did penance, and were absolved ; the fourth obtained a writ ordering the Bishop to appear at Westminster. He did so, but with the result of compelling the Commissioner to do public penance in St. Paul's.

Here and there we meet, as might be expected, with abuses to be corrected ; but there is no appearance whatever, despite the stern and searching rigour of the Bishop's incessant visitations, to indicate anything like a general relaxation of discipline in the clergy of the Diocese of Exeter. There is nothing to indicate the existence of such a state of things as in some parts of the Continent called forth the scathing denunciations of St. Catharine of Siena or St. Bridget of Sweden in this same century.

As regards the religious communities of the diocese, the same general conclusion is the only one to which we can come, namely, that while in the great majority the Bishop seems to have nothing to complain of, he had, in some instances, most serious troubles to meet, as at Tavistock Abbey and Launceston Priory, the cause being the same in each case, the greatest scourge of monastic communities—a worldly superior. Such was Adam de Knolle, Prior of Launceston, and such was Robert Bonus, Abbot of Tavistock, who for a long time had lived a secular life and affected even the garb of a layman. Bonus was deposed and excommunicated. The Prior of Launceston submitted, and was allowed to resign. It is curious to follow the list of abuses for which these prelates were held responsible. In both cases they were charged with an attempt to uphold certain pretended rights by armed force. Adam de Knolle, who seems to have all but renounced the obligations of his state, is accused of neglecting to say his Office or celebrate Mass, of removing his sub-Prior from office because he would not connive at his superior's maladministration, of allowing torn and dirty vestments to be used in his church, of keeping hawks and hounds, and of the neglect of almsgiving, concerning which a special precept is imposed on the community that they should maintain a number of poor boys, and teach them "grammar," according to the usual custom of monasteries.

But, I repeat, with but few exceptions, Bishop Grandisson was in constant and cordial relations with the communities of his diocese. We find him giving the abbatial blessing to Abbot Stephen, of Buckfast, and frequently visiting the abbeys and priories of his diocese. The conclusion that necessarily follows an attentive examination of the state of the clergy as told in the Exeter registers is, that while it was by no means what could have been desired, yet grave abuses and laxity of discipline were the exception, not the rule. The Bishop's vigorous reforms were ably seconded and proved effective. Lastly, the most formidable evils in this matter, and by far the most difficult, and sometimes impossible, to correct, proceeded from lay encroachments on the liberty of Church government.



Before coming to the last of the subjects of our investigation, to wit, the existence of actual cases of heresy in the diocese, it is pleasant to note, in connection with the subject of monastic houses, the Bishop's relations with the two communities of nuns in the diocese, the Benedictines of Polsloe and the Augustinian Canonesses of Canonsleigh. In each of these communities the Superior died during Grandisson's episcopate, and the election proceedings for her successor are given in full. Those for Polsloe open with the Bishop's letter regulating the government of the monastery during the vacancy caused by the death of the Prioress, Dame Margery de Wydepole, Polsloe being a priory. The Bishop commits the care of the temporalities to two of his clergy, David Alyam and William de Doun. The nuns next depute Dame Matilda Gambon, the sub-Prioress, and Margaret de Brankescombe, a nun of their community, to appear before the Bishop at his manor of Clyst, and present their petition for leave to elect. In the said petition to the Bishop, "his humble and devout daughters, Jane Atwood, professed nun and third-Prioress of the Monastery of Polsloe, of the Order of St. Benedict in the Diocese of Exeter, and the community of the same," after the usual expression of their reverent obedience, go on to say: "Through our beloved sisters in Christ, Dame Matilda Gambon, sub-Prioress, and Dame Margaret de Brankescombe, we have notified to your Right Reverend Paternity, that Dame Margery de Wydepole of holy memory, Prioress of this monastery while she lived, hath lately gone the way of all flesh, and that on the seventeenth of April, MCCCXLVII., her body was given sacred burial. And we now send the aforesaid Matilda and Margaret to your Right Reverend Paternity, to ask leave to elect according to our custom one of our community to be Prioress, (whom we shall find) the most circumspect in spirituals and temporals." Then follows the Bishop's licence to elect, "saving always and in all things our episcopal rights and the rights of the Church of Exeter."

The decree of election, or *procès-verbal*, is given at great length. The nuns of St. Catharine's of Polsloe assembled



in Chapter were seventeen in number: Dames Gambon, de Mandeville, de Baketone, Beauchamp, Atwood, Prudhomme, de Watford, Denebaud, Netherhaven, Doddescombe, another Prudhomme, another Atwood, de Brankescombe, Dauncy, de Stanford, Puddynge, and Sweteheye. Two others, Emma Guldene and Agatha de Ferrers, were too ill to attend. The seventeen, with Juliana de Bruton, called *consoror nostra*, probably a nun from another house, assisted early in the morning at the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost. Then, assembling in Chapter, and having placed the Bible on the lectern and chanted the *Veni Creator*, the Decretal *Quia propter* was read and explained. They decided to elect *per compromissum*. Six of the Sisters received from the rest all authority, the others binding themselves to accept whomsoever they should elect. The six remained in the Chapter-room, the others going into the cloister to await the decision. After long discussion, Juliana de Bruton withdrew from the Chapter-room. In her absence the remaining five discussed her qualities and came to the conclusion that she was the best qualified for the spiritual and temporal government of the house, and unanimously elected her as Prioress. The community were then recalled, and with much rejoicing accepted the election. The *procès-verbal* continues: "Our sub-Prioress, after receiving the required authorisation (to publish the election), after a short pause, to compose her words, as it seemed to us, did in the presence of the whole community, in the vulgar tongue (Norman-French?) utter the following words: 'I, Matilda, sub-Prioress, etc.,"' declaring that the community elected Sister Juliana de Bruton, professed nun of the Order of St. Benedict, and so forth, as their Prioress. Forthwith they walked in procession from the Chapter-room to the church, and sang the *Te Deum* before the High Altar. Then it was published in English to the crowds of people who were waiting in the church. It seems strange that only after these formalities Dame Juliana was asked if she consented to her election, but as it is stated in the *procès-verbal*, she replied that there were others more capable than herself, and asked for time to consider the matter. On the next day, in a building

within the nuns' enclosure, in the presence of the episcopal Commissioners, Dame Juliana was again asked by Dames Jane Baketone, Anastasia Denebaud, and Jane Dauncy if she would consent to her election. Her reply was: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, trusting that my election is pleasing to God, and to the Reverend Father in Christ, John, Lord Bishop of Exeter, etc., I do consent to my election to be Prioress of this Monastery of Polsloe." A similar *procès-verbal* was published in Exeter Cathedral, with leave to any who might choose to object to the election to appear against it. No one appearing, the election was confirmed by the Bishop.

The election of the Abbess of Canonsleigh was a much simpler matter. The Prioress, Matilda de Haccombe, and her community, ceded to the Bishop their right of electing an Abbess in the place of the Lady Margaret Aunger, deceased. They recommended to his choice three Sisters—Christina de Oxtou, Agatha de Hiwishe, and Juliana Lamprey—whom they praised as being "very religious and devout, and adorned with many gifts of virtue." The Bishop chose Juliana Lamprey, who, as she writes, considering herself "a child of obedience to the honour of God, and of the most Blessed Mary, His Mother, and of Blessed John the Evangelist, in whose honour our church is consecrated, did, although unwillingly," consent to her election. The Bishop then writes to the Prioress and community that he has chosen Juliana Lamprey to be their Abbess, and that they are to receive and obey her in all that concerns the observance of the rule and discipline "according to the canonical institutes of your order," dating his letter from Ottery St. Mary, October 10th, 1345. On the 4th of January following he directs his letters to William Crowthorne, Canon of Exeter, William Giffard, and Richard de Bishopleigh, to induct her into "corporal possession of the said monastery, a stall in choir and a place in Chapter, with full rights of Abbess." She had already been solemnly blessed at Chudleigh on December 21st, where she read her profession of canonical obedience to the Bishop and to his successors, after which, adds the Register, "she with her own hand added three crosses to

the writing with pen and ink, in sign of her profession" of obedience.

Enough concerning the clergy and monasteries of the diocese. It now remains to see if we find any indication of the creeping in of heresy. Only once does anything of importance on this head appear in Bishop Grandisson's Register, namely, the case of Ralph de Tremur. It is a singular one, and has been thought by some to have been in some way connected with the school of heresy which found in Wycliffe its ablest spokesman. I doubt it; Tremur's case seems to be an isolated one, and he went far beyond Wycliffe in impiety, at least in denying all divine authority to the New Testament. It is also worthy of note that, although preaching his impious doctrines far and wide, there is no appearance in the Register of his having been imprisoned or arrested. As this is almost the only case of heresy in Grandisson's vast diocese during his whole episcopate, it is worth our while going into it in detail.

Ralph de Tremur, whose family were lords of the manor of Tremur, in the parish of Lanivet in Cornwall, was on July 25th, 1331, instituted to the little parish of Warleggan, on the edge of the Bodmin moors. His uncle, John de Tremur, Rector of Warleggan, worn out with old age, resigned his benefice in that year into the hands of Bishop Grandisson. Ralph was then studying at Oxford. His career at the University was a brilliant one. Grandisson writes that he excelled in "grammar," and could speak readily and fluently in English, French, Latin, Cornish, and Breton, and had taken his degree of Master of Arts. On his uncle's resignation the Bishop conferred the benefice on Ralph, giving him a year's leave of absence on condition that he should take sub-deacon's orders in the meanwhile. The young man was in no hurry to leave Oxford for an obscure and remote Cornish parish; so, after obtaining a prolongation of his leave of absence till three years were passed, he resigned Warleggan. For twenty years we hear no more of him, and when he comes again on the scene he is in deacon's orders, wandering about Devon, Cornwall, and other parts of England, and everywhere

teaching heresy. From his language, as given in Grandisson's letters, he seems to have been animated by a fanatical hatred of the Blessed Sacrament. "That impious blasphemer," writes the Bishop, "attacking the Catholic faith before several worthy men, dared to utter these words: 'You vainly adore the work of your hands; for what doth a priest do but gape over and breathe upon a little piece of bread?' Then, in mockery of Blessed Peter, he said he was an empty-headed clown. Moreover, he called St. John the Evangelist a false and lying witness for calling himself the disciple whom Jesus loved, etc. And what more than all this is detestable and horrible to pious ears, he secretly stole from the church the pyx with the Body of Christ, took it to a house, and taking out the Blessed Sacrament threw it into the fire, taking the pyx away with him." The Bishop goes on to say, that besides other offences, he had forcibly intruded himself into the benefice he had resigned, plundered the rector's property, and set fire to his house. Grandisson, of course, excommunicated him, and sought to have him degraded and handed over to the secular arm, but there is no record of anything being done. I suspect the cause is not far to seek. Tremur was of good family, and plainly had men at his command. In such cases, outrages as I have mentioned above could be perpetrated on the Church almost with impunity, and he no doubt allied himself with other privileged ruffians. The people, we are told, complained loudly at his sacrilegious doings, but none durst lay hands on him.

The extreme rarity of any complaint of heresy shows that in this particular the heart of the Exeter Diocese was sound. We have seen, then, that despite occasional abuses, the state of the clergy contrasted favourably with many parts of Europe. The one cause, which even in the fourteenth century was paving the way for England's apostasy, lay in the intrusion of the secular power into the spiritual domain. Indirectly this same cause affected the spirit of the clergy, secular and regular. Rich benefices were often conferred on men of rank. In many instances, as in that of Grandisson himself, the high-souled nobility of race helped and fostered sacerdotal heroism, but the wealth of

the Church was only too apt to attract men without a priestly vocation. Worldliness has always been the secret curse of religious houses, and as monastic fervour had abated since the days of St. Bernard, abbots and priors were found here and there but too eager to ape the manners and garb of the lay barons who surrounded them, and with whom they ranked by reason of their territorial possessions. But some twenty years before Bishop Grandisson's death, England was visited by a scourge that in its consequences was largely to affect the welfare of religion in this country.

On or about the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, July 7th, 1348, the Black Death made its appearance—brought hither by traders with the East—at Weymouth, in Dorset. Spreading rapidly through Dorset and Devon, it raged with special violence at Bristol, and swept northwards till it had destroyed, according to Dom Gasquet, fully one-half of the population of England and Wales. From the end of October till Christmas public prayers and processions were held in all the churches and communities of Exeter. On the clergy it seems to have fallen with great severity, as this Register abundantly shows. Four vicars succeeded one another at Ashburton within six weeks in this year, and a similar mortality prevailed in many other parishes. Dom Gasquet estimates the deaths among the clergy of all England at 25,000. At the Cistercian Abbey of Newenham, out of twenty-six brethren three only survived, and only two were left alive at Bodmin Priory and two at Kilkhampton. Among the superiors who died in 1349 were the Abbots of Buckfast, Hartland, and Torre; the Priors of St. James and St. Nicholas, at Exeter; of St. Michael's Mount, Barnstaple; Pilton, Bodmin, Minster, etc. The lack of clergy was so great that the Bishop obtained leave to ordain fifty illegitimate candidates and a hundred more who were under the canonical age. On the disastrous consequences of this awful scourge it is needless to speak, as Dom Gasquet's work on the Great Pestilence has dealt with it exhaustively.

As an appendix to Bishop Grandisson's Register, Preb-

endary Randolph has published a recently discovered fragment of the cartulary of Buckfast Abbey, with a beautiful fac-simile of one page of the MS. The fragment begins from the reign of Henry III. down to 7 Edward II. It is extremely easy with its assistance to trace out on the spot the ancient possessions of the Abbey, the names, even of its fields, having remained almost unchanged. Thus Sir Richard Bauzan's gift of land to the monks of Buckfast, now in the possession of the Hon. Richard Dawson, is still called "Bosun's Farm." Sir Richard gives the brethren the title of "The servants of God and of Blessed Mary in the place that is called Buckfast." The names of the witnesses, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury (Blessed Boniface of Savoy, a Carthusian); Walter, Bishop of Worcester, Richard de Clare, Earl of Ulster, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, and others, awaken a host of associations of English chivalry in the ages of Faith.

One great work and, I might say not untruly, one great act of Faith of our Bishop was the rebuilding of Exeter Cathedral as we now see it. In his letter to the Pope, written at the beginning of his episcopate, he tells the Holy Father how he had consecrated Bishop Stapeldon's glorious "Silver Altar"; that his Cathedral was but half finished, and that it was most beautiful, and destined to excel in beauty any cathedral of England or France. Vast quantities of material in marble, stone, and timber, accumulated by Stapeldon, remained at his successor's disposal. The Norman nave was still standing, with the exception of the eastern bay, rebuilt by Bishop Quivil. Grandisson took up the work at this point. Prebendary Randolph gives it as his opinion, which he ably supports against some writers, that though Bishop Grandisson retained all that he could of the outer walls of the church, he completely took down and removed the Norman nave. A memorandum exists of his contract for the eleven and a half great columns with William Canon, of Corfe. In addition, there were sixty small columns for the triforia and twenty-nine columns for the cloister. By the end of 1334 the great piers of the nave arcades were in their places,



and before 1353 the rebuilding of the nave was finished.

On the Feast of our Blessed Lady's Nativity, 1368, was dated the great Bishop's will. Under his signature he wrote the antiphon of the day, *Nativitas tua*: "Thy Nativity, O Virgin Mother of God, hath brought tidings of joy to the whole world; for of thee was born the Sun of Justice, Jesus Christ our Lord." On the 16th of July in the following year he gave up his soul to God, in his seventy-seventh year and the forty-second of his episcopate. Towards the close of the sixteenth century his tomb was broken into and his ashes scattered.

These few details from the three volumes of Grandisson's Register, which comprise nearly one thousand eight hundred pages, mostly in small print, give only the faintest idea of the inestimable treasure given to the world by the herculean labours of the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph. The words with which he concludes his admirable biography must needs go to the heart of every Catholic reader: "If I am spared to complete the two volumes of Bishop Brantingham's fine Register, which covers the interval between Bishop Grandisson's Register and Bishop Stafford's (published in 1886), my series will be complete for the space of nearly two hundred years. I dare not venture to look beyond; neither, on the other hand, do I venture to assign any limitation to a work which ought to be continued, by myself or by another, to the end of the Mediæval period, when our Registers became little more than Registers of Institutions to Benefices. My mind is to work on till, my eyes becoming dim and natural force abated, I am compelled to leave to others the completion of a work which, our Lord blessing my endeavours, I have carried so far towards completion. *Nunc mea; mox hujus; sed crastina nescio cujus cujus.*"

The thoughts of kindly gratitude, and the prayer that rises unbidden to our lips, when reading these words of one to whom we owe so much, I leave unwritten.

ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.



## ART. V —AGE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE PSALTER.

### I.

THERE are few problems connected with the Scriptures of the Old Testament more interesting than that which the question of the age and authorship of the Psalms presents. It is true, we know, as Theodoret says in his "Preface to the Psalms," that the whole Psalter was written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; but there is a not unnatural curiosity in the heart of the Christian to have more information as to the part played by the human agent in their composition. They are so full of lyric beauty, so dear to the devout soul. They are so admirably adapted to give expression to the various emotions of the heart, whether in joy or sorrow, in sickness or in health, that it is but natural we should like to know who it was that first composed these plaintive, these inspiring hymns; in what circumstances and in what age these prayers of faith, hope, charity, and contrition were uttered to God. What lover of starry skies was it who first poured forth the verses of the 19th Psalm?\*

"The heavens do tell the glory of God  
And the firmament declares His handiwork."†

Was it King David? Or was it some anonymous poet after the exile?

Again, there is that "sweetly monotonous meditation," as Professor Cheyne calls it, the 119th Psalm. "The subject is the duty and blessedness of the study of the Law."‡ To what age does it belong? Does it imply that already a thousand years B.C. our Pentateuch was in David's hands? Or is it the effusion of some scribe after

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\* References to the Psalms are to the Massoretic text.

† Cheyne.

‡ "Book of Psalms," p. 317.

the exile, full of zeal for the new Torah, which had only just been published (B.C. 444) ?

Once more, can any one deny that reality and pathos are added to the 137th Psalm, from the fact that its very words tell us that it is an exile who brings before us the picture of the sorrowing Israelites, mourning in captivity, and sighing for their distant homes, for the Holy City and for the Mount of Sion ?\*

"By Babylon's streams—'twas there that we sat down and wept  
when we remembered Zion :

Upon the willows in their midst

hanged we our lyres.

For there did those who dragged us away

require of us notes of song,

And of our dancers festive glee :

'Sing us one of the songs of Zion,' " etc.†

But, of all the problems presented by the Old Testament, that of assigning authors and dates to the psalms is, perhaps, the most obscure. That is made evident by the deeply marked differences of opinion that have always existed and still exist on the subject. One writer, St. Philastrius, who died A.D. 387, went so far as to declare it to be heretical to deny the Davidic authorship of the psalms. And, although not so severe upon those who differed from themselves in opinion, a large number of eminent writers, including such names as St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Thomas of Aquin, Cardinal Cajetan, and, in a hesitating way, Cardinal Bellarmine, maintained that David was the sole author of the Psalter.

But there were others, especially in the Eastern Church, who took a more liberal view. "We know," writes St. Jerome, "that they are in error who think David to have written all the psalms,"‡ and his opinion was shared by St. Hippolytus, Origen, St. Athanasius, and a host of other eminent writers. It is clear, too, that St. Jerome's view gradually gained ground in the Church as time went on. For, though the Council of Florence refers to the Psalter amongst the canonical books as "*Psalmi Davidis*," at Trent the appellation was changed into

\* I know Cheyne assigns Psalm 137 to the time of Simon the Maccabee.

† Cheyne.

‡ "Ep. ad Cypr.

"Psalterium Davidicum," so as to give no colour to the idea that the Council leaned to the opinion that David was the author of all the psalms.\*

Nor has anything like agreement been yet reached in regard to the age and authorship of the Psalter. It is true that probably no one would be bold enough in our days to defend the Davidic authorship of all the psalms. But the great majority of Catholic writers maintain with Father Cornely that the evidence of the titles, when it is found in agreement in the Hebrew and the versions, is to be followed.† And there is little doubt that the learned Jesuit speaks for many when he says (*l.c.*, p. 103): "We do not hesitate to assert that we owe to David the majority (*i.e.*, over eighty) of the psalms."

Very different is the position taken up by Professor Cheyne. In the printed edition (1891) of his "Bampton Lectures for 1899," the following words occur, which set forth briefly the conclusion of his researches: "Putting aside Psalm 18, and possibly lines or verses embedded here and there in later psalms, the Psalter as a whole is post-exilic."‡

This is, no doubt, an extreme view, although Professor Cheyne is by no means alone in holding it. But the late Professor Robertson Smith voices the verdict of a great number of critics when he says that: "The two Davidic collections are in the main the utterance of Israel's faith in the time of the second Temple";§ and that: "there is no psalm which we can assign to him with absolute certainty, and use to throw light on his character, or on any special event in his life."

Not even these psalms which have been most confidently attributed to David in the past, or which have been commonly connected with well-known incidents in his life, have been left in undisturbed possession of their places. What psalm is so well known and loved as the *Miserere*? Who is not aware that it is said to have been uttered when the Prophet Nathan came to King David to upbraid him

\* Cf. Pallavicini, "Hist. Conc. Trid.," VI., 14.

† "Introductio," Vol. II. (2), p. 102.

‡ "Origin of the Psalter," p. xxxi.

§ "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 222.

for his adultery with Bethsabee? Yet Professor Robertson Smith unhesitatingly assigns it to the time of the exile;\* whilst Professor Cheyne says that it belongs to the restoration period, before the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemias.† Again, the Psalm *Dixit Dominus* has been connected with David's name from the beginning of the Church, on account of our Saviour's‡ words, in which He interprets it of that monarch. Professor Cheyne discusses this psalm at some length, and finally decides that it belongs to the age of the Maccabees, Simon, not David, being the hero of the piece.

## II.

Speaking generally, it may be said that there is a consensus of critical opinion in these days in favour of bringing down the dates of the psalms to more recent times. It is, therefore, important to ascertain how far the Catholic is free in the treatment of this question. Sacred Scripture is inspired in all its parts. Do not the titles, therefore, bind the student to assign certain psalms to certain authors? Or is the Catholic free to come to a decision as to the age and authors of the Psalter, guided by the best light he can obtain from history and the cognate sciences? This is a serious question, and one to be decided by the cold light of reason alone.§ Sentiment, however commendable elsewhere, has no *locus standi* here, and if the student is free it is eminently desirable that he should know it.

The majority of the Fathers have undoubtedly held the inspiration of the titles. St. John Chrysostom refers to them as "dictated by the Holy Ghost" and "Canonical" ("De Compunct.," II., 4), and Theodoret says that they were "written under the *afflatus* of the Holy Ghost" ("In Psalm Praef."). Indeed, of nearly all early ecclesiastical writers, it may be said that when they reject the authority

\* *L.c.*, p. 440, *et seq.*

† "Origin of the Psalter," p. 162.

‡ Matt. xxii, 43-45. This is not the place to discuss or decide the question how far our Lord's words affect the question of authorship of this psalm.

§ Of course, authority may always step in in these matters. The distinction here is between reason and sentiment.

of the titles they do so only in cases where they do not regard them as genuine, and hence they often distinguish such titles as appear in the Hebrew and the ancient versions from such as are found only in some of the latter.

The same view has been very generally held in later times. Thus, Father Cornely, whose "Introductio" is in the hands of so many students, strongly defends the inspiration of the titles.\* "The greatest, nay, even Divine authority, belongs to such as are critically certain," he says. But he adds the important proviso, "si ab ipsis auctoribus sacris additæ demonstrantur," so that he evidently feels the necessity of proceeding cautiously.

Indeed, in this matter caution is imperatively called for; for it cannot be said that the arguments adduced in support of the canonicity of the titles are very convincing. Can it be said, for instance, that the antiquity of the titles is a sound argument for their canonicity? Antiquity is certainly one of the requisites for historical reliability, it is true, but it is no proof of inspiration. Even though it could be shown that the titles were added in the days of David or Solomon, it would still require to be proved that they were part of Scripture. For it is far from self-evident that "we must not judge otherwise of the titles than of the other parts of Sacred Scripture" (*l.c.*, p. 85).

What is the Psalter? It is the *Liber Psalmorum*, the Book of Psalms, and all are agreed that the psalms are inspired. But it is quite another thing to admit that, *e.g.*, the directions to the choir are inspired. Certain psalms are headed, "Upon Neginoth" and "Upon Nehiloth"; and there is little doubt that these notes refer to the string and wind instruments with which the psalms in question were to be accompanied. But, surely, because these psalms are admitted to be inspired, it does not follow that musical directions such as the above are also parts of Scripture!

Again, one of the most curious discoveries of modern Biblical scholarship is the fact that certain of the psalm titles merely record the names of well-known tunes to

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\* Vol. II. (2), p. 84, *et seq.*

which the psalms were to be sung. There is, for instance, the title of the 22nd Psalm, "set to Agyeleth hash-shahan," *i.e.*, "the hind of the morning"; and, again, that of the 57th Psalm, "set to Al-tashcheth," *i.e.*, "Destroy not." And, indeed, a reference to the song alluded to in this last title seems to be contained in Isaiah 65, 8, where we read: "When the new wine is found in the cluster, men say 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it.'" "These words," says Professor Robertson Smith, "in the Hebrew have a distinct lyric rhythm. They are the first line of one of the vintage songs."<sup>\*</sup> Yes, and they are doubtless the opening verse of the song to the tune of which Psalm 57 was sung, according to the musical direction. But can it be seriously contended that such directions as these, which have merely an ephemeral value, are necessarily to be placed upon a level with the psalms themselves, composed for all time?

We have been tacitly granting in the above argument that the titles are of great antiquity. But that is far from clear. For the chief argument in support of their antiquity lies in their presence in the Septuagint version, and the apparent inability of the translator to understand the meaning of the musical expressions they contain. But when was the Greek version of the Psalter made? It is true, no doubt, the Pentateuch was rendered into Greek in the middle of the third century B.C. There is nothing, however, to show that the *Hagiographa* were translated at such an early date. Some of them, at least, were known to the son of Sirach in Greek about the year 132 B.C.,<sup>†</sup> and it may fairly be taken for granted that the collection included the Psalter. But it is not likely that they were translated into Greek much before that time.

It certainly sounds a plausible argument for the antiquity of the titles that the Greek translator was often unable to understand them. But was this on account of the great age of the musical titles? The facts are certainly susceptible of another explanation.

It will be noticed that from the 90th Psalm to the

<sup>\*</sup> "Old Testament and Jewish Church," p. 209.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. "Prologue to Ecclesiasticus."

end of the Psalter the musical terms "Upon Neginoth," "Upon Sheminith," and the like completely disappear. Why is it that there are none of the old musical directions in the case of the last sixty psalms, whereas they are so frequent in the earlier part of the Psalter?

It is a well-known historical fact that, after the building of Alexandria, B.C. 331, Greek civilisation and Greek art began to exercise great influence in the East. Nor was this influence unfelt in Palestine. It is true the impious attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to paganise Israel and substitute Zeus for Jehovah deservedly failed; but it is none the less certain that the architecture, the philosophy, and the music of the Greeks had their influence on the Jews. Is it not likely, then, that the more regular and stately music of the Greeks would have replaced during this period the rougher style of the earlier liturgy? That the distinction between melodies sacred and profane would have become more clearly marked? And that, as a consequence, the primitive music of the ancient Hebrews, with its notation, would have fallen into disuse and been forgotten? Hence the omission of the older musical titles in that part of the Psalter which, upon other grounds, too, there is reason to suppose was drawn up in later days for liturgical use. Hence, too, the ignorance of the older musical terms displayed by the Alexandrine translator.

It is questionable, therefore, whether there is really much to be said for the great antiquity of the titles prefixed to the psalms.

Nor does it seem to us that the preponderating opinion of the Fathers in favour of the canonicity of the titles really comes to very much when one considers what they mean by it. Indeed, they seem to contradict in practice what they hold in theory. St. Augustine maintains that the titles are canonical, but he also attributes all the psalms to David; so that he does not regard it as inconsistent with inspiration to assign to David Psalm 72, which the inscription assigns to Solomon, or the 73rd, which is inscribed to Asaph, or the 90th, which is said to be "of Moses"; and so of others. Can it be supposed, then, that the great Doctor would have objected to our assigning, for good



reasons, to other writers, psalms which the titles attribute to David?

Indeed, it is too readily assumed that, when a psalm is in the title said to be "of David," or some other writer, we are to conclude this to mean that David, or the person named, was the author of the psalm. It would seem that very often such titles only mean that the psalms in question formed part of a collection entitled, "of David," or the like.

Take, for instance, the fifteen gradual psalms or psalms of ascent (Psalms 120-134), each one of which is entitled in our Bible "a gradual psalm," and in the Revised version "a song of ascent." But, strictly speaking, the title of each of these psalms is "gradual canticles," or "songs of ascent." "For," says Professor R. Smith,\* "according to the laws of Hebrew grammar, the title prefixed to each of these hymns must be translated not 'a song of pilgrimage,' but 'the songs of pilgrimage.'" Is it not clear from this that these psalms at one time formed a separate collection, or part of a collection, entitled "the songs of ascent," and that, when they were incorporated in the Psalter each one was distinguished by the title of the collection from which it was taken? Again, eleven psalms are attributed to "the sons of Korah."† Is it at all likely that several persons co-operated in the composition of each of these short pieces? Is it not far more reasonable to conclude that the title, "to the sons of Korah," indicates merely that the psalms in question were taken from a collection entitled, perhaps, as Professor Kirkpatrick suggests,‡ "the Book of the Songs of the Sons of Korah"?

Can we, then, be always sure that by the title "to David," the editor of the Psalter intends absolutely to declare that David wrote the psalm? May he not simply mean to indicate that the piece in question was taken from a previously existing collection of "Davidic psalms"? Certainly the colophon at the end of the 72nd Psalm would seem to point to some such explanation. Otherwise how could it with truth be said after Psalm 72, "The prayers of David,

\* "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 203.

† 42-49, 84, 85, 87.

‡ "The Psalms," p. xxix.

the son of Jesse, are ended," seeing that Psalm 86 is again entitled a "Prayer of David"?

From what has been said we arrive at the conclusion that the titles contained in the Psalter cannot be said to be part of the inspired Scriptures, or to be so authoritative as of themselves to be able to settle the authorship of the psalms; and we commend to our readers the following words of Father Ubaldi:\*

In this question, we should notice especially the decree of the Council of Trent, which lays down that all the books of Scripture are to be received *with all their parts, as they have usually been read in the Catholic Church*; but the titles of the psalms have never been nor are they now read in the Church; they are hardly known to the learned. Moreover, a great deal of variation exists in regard to them between the Hebrew text and the Greek and Latin versions, so that some are wanting in the Hebrew and are read in the versions, and others convey quite a different meaning in the Hebrew and in the Greek; now, had the Church regarded these titles as Divine, she never would have tolerated such latitude. Finally, a unanimous tradition of the Fathers in support of the Divinity of the titles is entirely absent.

Whilst, however, declining to admit that the sole fact that certain psalms are ascribed in the title to (*e.g.*) David, or Moses, or Solomon, at once and unerringly settles the question of authorship, we are far from denying all authority to these ancient notes. They are not mere unauthorised glosses of later scribes; and they may be of great assistance in tracing the sources of the psalms and throwing light on the history of the Psalter.

No sober commentator," says Professor Robertson Smith,† "is now found to maintain the traditional titles in their integrity; and it is puerile to try and conserve the traditional position by throwing this and that title overboard, instead of frankly facing the whole critical problem, and refusing to be content until we have got a clear insight into the whole history of the Psalter, and a solid basis for its application, not merely to purposes of personal devotion, but to the systematic study of the ancient dispensation.

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\* "Introductio," Vol. II., p. 459.

† "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 225.

## III.

It has been observed in all ages of the Church that the Psalter does not seem to be a mere haphazard assemblage of psalms, without divisions of any kind. Thus, St. Hippolytus,\* writing in the early part of the third century, says that "the Hebrews divided the Psalter into five books," and he finds an explanation of the fact in their desire to make it, as it were, a second Pentateuch. It is of primary importance for tracing the history of the Psalter, to inquire into this question with a view to ascertaining what minor collections there are, if any, within the Psalter.

At the end of the 72nd Psalm occurs the colophon: "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended." There is a heading of somewhat similar character to the 10th chapter of Proverbs, "The Parables of Solomon"; and as these latter words refer to a lesser collection of proverbs within a collection, so we are prepared to find that the former point to a lesser Psalter within the Psalter. Following up this hint, and looking more attentively into the matter, one is struck by the fact that there are apparently five distinct parts or books in the Psalter. For, at the end of Psalms 41, 72, 89, and 106 there are evidently formal endings, consisting of doxologies and double amens.† Thus, at the end of Psalm 41 appear the words:

"Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel,  
From everlasting, and to everlasting.  
Amen and Amen."

Moreover, besides the doxology and double amens after Psalm 72, there is the colophon referred to above, making it doubly clear that with Psalm 72 ends a collection of psalms within the Psalter.

But the existence of subordinate collections can be made clearer still. Upon examining into the names of God used in the five divisions of the Psalter, pointed out above, it is seen that, whilst in the first, fourth, and fifth books, the name *Jehovah* greatly preponderates, the term *Elohim* is mostly used in the second and third. Thus in Psalms 90-150 (Books IV. and V.) the name *Jehovah* occurs 339 times,

\* "In Psal., frag." 8

† There is only one Amen after Psalm 106

whilst *Elohim* occurs only in the 108th Psalm\*; and that psalm is taken word for word from two psalms of what will presently be seen to be the Elohist collection (viz., from Psalms 57, 7-11; 60, 5-12). In the first book (Psalms 1-41), the name *Elohim* is used absolutely only fifteen times, and in some of these cases it is required by the sense, whilst *Jehovah* occurs 272 times.

If we turn now to the second and third books (Psalms 42-89), we shall find that things are all the other way. Leaving out of account Psalms 84-89, which, on independent grounds, are regarded as a late addition, the name *Jehovah* occurs only forty-three times, whilst *Elohim* is used two hundred times. And that this preference for the name of *Elohim* is not a mere characteristic of the author of the psalm in question, but is due to an editor, may be easily shown; for Psalm 53 and Psalm 70 are identical with Psalm 14 and Psalm 40, 14-18 respectively, except in as far as *Elohim* has been substituted for *Jehovah* in the two later psalms. And again, *Elohim* often takes the place of *Jehovah* even in passages where the resulting phrase sounds very strange. Thus, where in Psalms 50, 7, the words of Exodus (20, 2) are quoted, "I am the Lord, thy God," they appear under the form "I am God, thy God."

Enough has been said to show that there are, at any rate, three distinct collections within the Psalter. For if the Elohist collection be not distinct from the first, how can it be explained that the same psalms appear in both? And, if the third collection be not independent of the first and second, how are we to account for the words, "the prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," after Psalm 72, seeing that there are a number of psalms ascribed to David in the fourth and fifth books?

The first book (Psalms 1-41) is a collection of Davidic psalms. All are inscribed to David except the 1st, 2nd, 10th, and 33rd; and in the case of these four the omission of the title is easily explained. The first psalm is an introduction to the book and, not unlikely, to the whole Psalter, and was almost certainly added at a much later date. The

\* Also in Psalm 144, 9. But this is a psalm formed from many others.

second, in the time of the Talmud, and probably in the Acts of the Apostles (13, 33),\* was looked upon as part of the first. There is no title to the 10th, because it forms with Psalm 9 one acrostic psalm; and, as for Psalm 33, it is almost universally recognised as of late date,† and as having gained admission to the Psalter in comparatively recent times.

The second and third books, which coalesce into one Elohist collection, present a more complex problem. It comprises Psalms 42-89, and of these, as has been said before, Psalms 84-89 form a later supplement; Psalm 86, for instance, which is attributed to David, being clearly not original, but a mere cento of quotations from other psalms. The rest of the collection consists of eight psalms (42-49) "of the sons of Korah," one (Psalm 50) "of Asaph," a Davidic group (51-72) with a subscription, and eleven psalms (73-83) "of Asaph."

Now this arrangement strikes one as rather odd. There are two groups of Levitical psalms, *i.e.*, psalms attributed to Asaph and to the Korahites, and also an important group of Davidic psalms. But not only are the Levitical psalms separated from one another by the presence in their midst of the Davidic group, but one of the Asaphic psalms, according to the present arrangement, is apart from its fellows. If, however, Ewald's conjecture is correct, originally the Davidic group‡ (51-72) followed immediately after the first book, with the colophon, "the Psalms of David, the son of Jesse, are ended." Then came the Levitical psalms, first the Korahite (42-49), then the Asaphite (50, 73-83); finally, at a later date, the supplement (Psalms 84-89) was added with the doxology.

This seems to be the true solution of the difficulties presented by the Elohist collection: for, by means of it, order ensues out of chaos. All the Davidic

\* Cf. Westcott and Hart, Vol. II., p. 95. It is a case of reading. Western evidence is in favour of *πρώτος*.

† Cheyne says it is Maccabean. Perhaps inserted in Book I. as an illustration of the last verse of Psalm 32 (Kirkpatrick).

‡ Three are anonymous in Hebrew, though only one in Septuagint. Psalm 72, perhaps a psalm of David for Solomon. Perhaps the Davidic group 51-72 separated from the first to show that they are distinct collections.

psalms\* are brought together with their subscription, and so are the two groups of Levitical psalms; and this is done with the slightest possible change in the existing arrangement. Moreover, it makes it clearer than before that Book I. is a collection distinct from that made up of Books II. and III.; for, had not the Elohist editor found the collection of Davidic psalms in Book I. already in existence and in possession of a position of eminence, he would surely have incorporated them with the group contained in his own recension.

There is, finally, the third collection, made up of the fourth and fifth books (Psalms 90-150) of the Psalms, for there does not seem to be any real distinction of origin between these two books. It is true Psalm 106 terminates with a doxology:

"Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel,  
From everlasting, and to everlasting.  
And let all the people say, Amen."

But in this case the doxology appears to be, not an editorial addition, but part of the psalm itself. As such it is quoted in 1 Chron. 16, and instead of the rubrical direction of the last line, the chronicler records, "And all the people said, Amen."†

At all events, there is nothing to show that the fourth and fifth books had a different origin. Both may be taken to form together the third collection. That it is later in date than the Elohist seems to follow, apart from the character of the language, which is more modern, and not unfrequently tinged with an Aramaic colouring, from the fact that Psalm 108 is composed of two psalms of the Elohist division (57, 7-11, and 70, 5-12), and that, although the third division is Jehovistic, this psalm retains its Elohist character.

The third collection differs in many respects from its predecessors. The psalms in the first two collections are nearly always assigned to some author. Not so in the case of the third: there they are mostly anonymous. So, too, in the last collection one misses the obscure musical titles so frequent

\* Of the first and second collection.

† It is likely that when the Psalter was divided into five books the editor took advantage of this doxology to end one of the books here.

in the earlier ones : whilst the term *selah*, which occurs sixty-seven times in the first three books, is found only four times in the last two. Moreover, there is a difference in the character of the psalms themselves. It is more liturgical and adapted to congregational use in the last collection ; and so we find in it such groups as the Hallel Psalms (111-118) and the Gradual Psalms (120-134). As Professor Kirkpatrick says : \* "Speaking broadly, and generally, the psalms of the first collection are *personal*, those of the second *national*, those of the third *liturgical*."

This inquiry into the divisions of the Psalter may be fitly summed up in the words of Professor Driver : †

The *natural* division of the Psalter appears thus to be into *three* parts, Psalms 1-41, Psalms 42-89, Psalms 90-150 : the division into *five* parts is generally supposed to have been accomplished later, in imitation of the Pentateuch, Psalms 42-89 being broken into two at Psalm 72, the subscription to which would form a natural point of division, and Psalms 90-150 being divided at Psalm 106, where verse 48 was adapted by its contents to mark also the conclusion of a book.

#### IV.

We have now analysed the Psalter, and found it to be made up of three distinct collections. The more difficult task remains of endeavouring to throw light upon the steps by which the Psalter grew to its present dimensions ; and to find out to what age the different collections belong, and in a general way who were the authors of the psalms.

1. It may be taken for certain that poetry existed among the Hebrews from the earliest days of their national existence. The most destructive critics admit this. Thus, Renan writes as follows in his "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel" : ‡

Les plus anciens chants nationaux d'Israël, remontaient à l'origine même de la vie nationale, à ce moment où les Beni-Israël, émancipés de l'Égypte, essayaient de sortir du désert, et contournaient, du côté de l'Arnon, le pays de Moab. Le chant relatif à la source de Beër, le chant sur le

\* "The Psalms," p. xlii.

† "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 351.

‡ Vol. II., p. 223.



prise d'Hésébon, se perdent, comme les étoiles du matin, dans les rayons d'un soleil levant historique. Les petits *nasal* de Balaam s'y rattachaient de très près. Le chant sur la bataille de Gabaon ne nous est connu que par un vers, qui donna lieu à une interprétation singulière. Le beau cantique, au contraire, nous a été conservé à peu près dans son intégrité.

It is certain also that the ancient Hebrews did not sing merely in ephemeral verse: collections of songs and hymns were also formed and handed down amongst them. For such, it is generally recognised, were "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah,"\* and "The Book of the Just."†

There is no reason, therefore, why we should refuse to King David the title assigned to him in the Second Book of Samuel‡ of "Sweet Psalmist of Israel." Too much stress is laid upon the fact that David is generally brought before us as the skilful harpist (*cf.* 1 Sam. 16, 18). But, perhaps it is not always realised that in ancient Israel the harp and the song went together. The harpist was the singer. מנן was "to sing," or "to play"; and the Greek ψάλλειν had the same double meaning. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that poetical pieces are assigned to David in the Books of Samuel; an exquisite elegy on Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1, 19, *et seq.*); one on Abner (2 Sam. 3, 33), and two hymns in the Second Book of Samuel.§

Most Catholic writers, relying chiefly on the titles of the psalms, refer the formation of the first book of the Psalter to David himself, or else to Solomon. This is a position difficult to defend. But Professor Cheyne and his school seem to lapse as gravely into error in the opposite direction. Indeed, although we are disposed to agree with Professor Robertson Smith in fixing the age of Ezra and Nehemiah as that in which our first book of the Psalter was edited, he does not seem to us to allow the period before the exile its due share in the accomplishment of that great work.

The Professor endeavours to show that the style of singing and psalmody implied in the existing Psalter is out of

\* Num. 21, 14, 17, 27.

† Joshua 10, 13.

‡ 23, 1.

§ 22, 23, 1-7. I have purposely abstained from using the evidence of Chronicles in this discussion, as many rationalistic critics deny their authority.

accord with what existed before the exile ; and, to establish this, he quotes certain passages from Amos, Isaiah, Samuel, and Lamentations,\* which seem to point to singing of a rude and boisterous character, rather than to that of a regular Temple choir. Of the passages referred to, the most striking is that from Lamentations, in which, alluding to the uproar of the victorious Chaldæans, the prophet says: "They have made a noise in the house of the Lord, as in the day of solemn assembly." But is it clear that in this passage the writer is merely comparing the clamour of the soldiery with the regular Temple singing? The Temple was not like a modern cathedral. It consisted of a small central edifice, surrounded by larger courts : and when we reflect upon the bustle and confusion that must have gone on there, owing to the hurrying of worshippers to and fro, the leading of cattle for sacrifice and the like, we may be pardoned for doubting whether the prophet has not in mind rather the noise of the multitude in the Temple courts on days of high festival.

As for the other passages adduced, they are more inconclusive still. Amos refers merely to the North Kingdom: and in Samuel the reference is to the procession in which David brought the ark from the house of Obed-edom to the Holy City. The Temple, of course, had not yet been built.

But, in reality, there must have been before the exile—as Professor Robertson Smith himself admits—a regular Temple choir. "The way in which the sons of Asaph are spoken of in Ezra 2, 41," he says,† "may be taken as evidence that there was a guild of Temple singers before the exile." Yes, and at the time of the exile there must have existed a Psalter of venerable antiquity. For, even if it be not admitted that every psalm inscribed to David was really his composition, yet most commentators are prepared to grant that the Davidic psalms, at any rate, of the earlier groups, were taken from previously existing collections of reputed Davidic hymns. And does not this show that at the close of the exile collections of psalms existed, which had been handed down from of old, and had then

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\* Amos 5, 23 ; 6, 5. 2 Sam. 6, 5. Is. 30, 29 ; 38, 20. Lament. 2, 7.

† *L.c.*, p. 219.

the reputation of being the work of David? Perhaps it was the psalms of this collection that enchanted the Babylonian captors of the Israelites, and made them love to hear the plaintive hymns of their captives: "Sing us a song of Sion" (Psalm 137).\*

These facts, at the very least, point to the conclusion that King David was the founder of Hebrew psalmody, and we have little hesitation in adding that to him must be attributed, at any rate, the nucleus of the existing Davidic collections.

That, however, does not mean to say that the first collection, as we now have it, is identical with the hymn book that left the hands of the Royal Psalmist. It is a long way from David to Ezra and Nehemiah, and many changes took place in the interval. There was the schism of the ten tribes, the destruction of the North Kingdom, the reformations of Ezechiah and Josiah with the sins of Manasses, and last of all the sad years of the Babylonian exile. We know the freedom with which the sacred text was handled in the centuries before Christ. What more natural, therefore, than to suppose that the original Psalter was in many ways altered and supplemented so as to adapt it to the needs and circumstances of different epochs?

If now we look at the Psalter itself it is clear that many of the psalms have been altered and added to. Professor Cheyne frequently calls attention, in his "Book of the Psalms," to instances of such changes; as, for example, when he says, in reference to Psalms 9 and 10, that "such changes have been introduced, that it is better to retain the division into two parts"; and of Psalm 19, "two of the distichs of Part I. are incomplete"; "the variety of rhythm suggests a diversity of origin for the two parts." Moreover, a dispassionate study of the psalms of the first book would seem to point to the conclusion that certainly many of them, in their present form, are not the work of David. Some seem addressed by the people to their King (20, 21); there are allusions to the Temple (5, 27), which was not built in David's time; and several of them depict

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\* I know that Cheyne calls this psalm Maccabean. Renan refers it to the exile: "*Histoire*," III., 392.

such a state of society—the misery of the poor and the oppression of the rich and powerful—that we can hardly recognise in it the reign of David as brought before us in the histories.\*

On the whole, the evidence would seem to point to some date after the exile for the redaction, in its present form, of the first collection of the Psalter: and for a more exact date we naturally turn to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, when the solemn worship of Jehovah was being inaugurated in the new Temple. But the prudent critic will be slow in deducing the late origin of individual psalms from references they may contain to the Temple, the exile, etc.; neither will he regard indications of late date in the language of the psalms as a decisive argument for late authorship.† He will remember the editors who have worked over the ancient texts; and, though he may not be often able to assign a particular psalm with certainty to David, he will be equally sceptical about the very decided opinion of some modern scholars as to the late date of all the psalms.

2. Professor Robertson Smith employs a very ingenious argument for arriving at the date of the formation of the second or Elohistic collection of psalms. It is based upon the common opinion of critics in these days, that the chronicler, in telling of the three Levitical guilds of singers in Solomon's Temple, named after Asaph, Heman, and Ethan or Jeduthun, in reality merely throws back to Solomon's days the institutions he found existing in his own. But in the times succeeding the return from exile there is no indication of any but one guild of singers. Singers and sons of Asaph were equivalent terms (Ezra 2, 41, etc.), and for a century after that event singers and Levites were quite distinct (Ezra 10, 23, etc.) After that period, however, the Levites gradually began to share in the duty of singing with the Asaphites, and this is the state of things represented in the Elohistic hymn book (Psalms 42-89), which contains two groups of psalms assigned respectively to

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\* Psalm 33 seems to be of distinctly late date.

† Compare the Psalms in the Catholic Bible of 1635 with the present edition.

Asaph and the Korahites. The advance to three guilds of singers is first hinted at in Nehemias 12, 24, and it was probably at this time, somewhere between Nehemias and the fall of the Persian Empire (B.C. 430-330), that the elements of the second or Elohist collection were combined by their Elohist editor.

All this is very plausible, but the view respecting the chronicler upon which it is based, though supported by a great weight of critical opinion, is one which we cannot think will bear the test of careful investigation. We find ourselves in agreement rather with the conclusion of Professor van Hoonaker, when he says :\*

L'organization que l'auteur du livre des Chroniques attribue à la corporation de lévites-chantres avant l'exil, ne répond aucunement à la situation qui régnait de son temps. Il ne paraît point que sous le second temple il y ait eu des divisions désignées sous les noms de Héman et de Ethan; ce qui serait en tous les cas contraire aux données que nous possédons sur l'histoire de cette époque, c'est la supposition que la division asaphite n'aurait pas même été, du moins numériquement, la principale.†

Though, however, the argument of Professor Robertson Smith does not seem sound, still, having in view the date of the first collection, and that room has still to be found later for the third collection, it seems clear that the Elohist hymn book must have been edited somewhere in the period suggested by the Professor. Hence, of course, we cannot agree with Father Cornely in assigning this collection to the reign of King Ezechias. Such a supposition would be inconsistent with what has been already decided as to the formation of the first book of the psalms. But there is no reason, indeed, to deny that that monarch had a share in the formation of the Psalter (*Cf.* 2 Chron. 29, 30), as he had in regard to the wisdom literature (Prov. 25, 1). But that "no psalm in this collection is later than Ezechias" (Cornely, *l.c.*, p. 112) is a proposition it would be difficult to maintain.

Though one cannot place entire reliance in every case upon the titles of individual psalms, it would be undue

\* "La Sacerdoce Levitique," p. 69.

† This volume of Van Hoonaker well deserves study.

scepticism to refuse all authority to them when they occur in groups, as in the case of the Davidic group (51-72), the Asaphic (50, 73-83), and Korahite (42-49) groups in the second collection. What has been said of the Davidic psalms in the first book will apply also to the Davidic group in this collection, though it naturally occurs to one to suppose that the omission of these psalms in the earlier collection would naturally make one more doubtful of their antiquity. The Asaphite psalms one cannot help connecting with the sons of Asaph so often referred to in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah as being the singers in the second Temple. These psalms were evidently in the possession of that family, and probably composed by members of it. The same remark will apply to the group "of the sons of Korah," though, as Ezra and Nehemiah are silent about the Korahites, it is not quite so clear who they were.

La collection des psaumes renferme un recueil attribué aux Qorahites (writes Professor van Hoonaker\*), Heman d'ailleurs est présenté comme issue de la race Qorah (1 Chron. 6, 16, *seq.*) Peut-être la notice du v. 1 de 1 Chron. 26, où les Qorahites-portiers eux-mêmes sont compris parmi les fils d'Asaph, eut-elle simplement son origine, à une époque récente, dans la circonstance que la division des chantres, désignée sous le nom de Qorahites était subordonnée à celle des fils d'Asaph.† Il semble qu'après l'exil tous les groupes de chantres étaient compris, à l'occasion, sous la denomination collective de "fils d'Asaph."

It is always important to bear in mind the principle that all the psalms in the later books of the Psalter are not necessarily late: "Some may have been survivals or adaptations of ancient hymns," as Professor Kirkpatrick says.‡ In fact, Dr. Driver admits the pre-exilic origin of the majority of the psalms in the second book (Psalms 42-72), being content to assign Psalms 51, 66-70, "to the exile or somewhat later."§

In admitting, however, the Maccabean origin of Psalms 74, 79, and 83, though he is only following the prevalent

\* "La Sacerdoce Levitique," p. 67.

† Le fils de Qorah figurent déjà comme chantres 2 Chron. 20, 19.

‡ "The Psalms," p. xxxv.

§ "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 364.

opinion of critics, Dr. Driver seems to us to sustain a very dubious proposition. It is true, no doubt, that the psalms in question are in full accord with the Maccabean era; but are we so well acquainted with the late Persian period as to be able to decide that they are inconsistent with it? It is certainly hard to see how these psalms could have obtained access to the Elohist Psalter if they originated so late as the Maccabean era. Why were they not placed in the later collection? And if there was some special reason for incorporating them with the second collection, why were they not placed in the supplement (Psalms 84-89), which we know to have been added at a later date, and not to have been worked over by the Elohist editor?

3. Speaking of the completion of the third collection of the psalms, Professor Cheyne writes:\* "Our result is that Books IV. and V. of the Psalter received their present form soon after B.C. 142. Egyptian-Jewish pilgrims must quickly have carried it home to their brethren. For the synagogues at Alexandria—one of which rivalled the Temple in its splendour—and, at least, to some extent for the small and little frequented sectarian Temple of Onias at Leontopolis, a manual of sacred song was indispensable. There may, indeed, have been an earlier version of the Psalter, in its incomplete form, but not long after Simon's edition reached 'Israel in Egypt,' it was probably put into a permanent form, with the title *ψαλμοὶ* (תהלים) for the members of the metropolitan community. The date of this event cannot be fixed precisely, but it was at any rate before the Christian era."

The late Father Patrizi was of opinion that the collection of the psalms was the work of Judas Maccabæus,† and, of course, if the existence of Maccabean psalms be admitted, it is obvious that the Psalter cannot have been closed before that date. Indeed, from what has already been said in this paper, it will follow almost as a matter of course that the third division of the Psalter belongs to the time of the Maccabees. It is not so easy, however, to follow Professor Cheyne in his opinion as to the date of the Greek translation of the psalms. From the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus,

\* "Origin of the Psalter," p. 12.

† "Cento Salmi," p. 3.



it is clear that the Hagiographa existed in Greek some time before B.C. 130. Nor is there any reason to doubt that the psalms, and practically in their present form, figured amongst them. We should, therefore, conclude that the third collection of the psalms had been formed, and the Psalter finally edited and translated into Greek before the year 130 B.C.

It is sometimes brought forward as an argument for an earlier date for the third collection, that 1 Chron. 16, 8-36, and 2 Chron. 6, 40, 41, and 42, are made up of verses from Psalms 96, 105, 106, and 132. Does not this show that the third psalm collection existed when the Book of Chronicles was published, about B.C. 300? Not necessarily. It may, indeed, be deduced that the psalms in question were in circulation about the year 300 B.C.; but it does not follow that by that time they had been admitted into the Psalter.

Indeed, the arguments which point to a Maccabean origin for the third division of the Psalter are too strong to be set aside by such negative difficulties as these. It is rendered likely in the first place by what we know of the Maccabean epoch from the Book of the Maccabees. There we read of the cruel persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the devoted bravery of the faithful Jews, the apostasy and treachery of others; finally, the victory of Jehovah and the restoration and re-dedication of the Temple under Judas in 165 B.C. Then follows, in 142 B.C., the expulsion by Simon of the Syrians from the Acra, an event which was celebrated with the greatest rejoicing, as being the removal of a desecration from the Holy City. And we read that Simon "ordained that that day should be kept with gladness for ever" (1 Macc. 13, 52); moreover, "he glorified the sanctuary, and the vessels of the sanctuary he multiplied" (1 Macc. 14, 15). Is it not likely that it was at this time that the Psalter received its final development? Tradition tells of the first Psalter being edited in connection with the building of Solomon's Temple, and also of the hand that the reformer Ezechias had in improving the Temple psalmody. We know, too, that at the time of the dedication of the second Temple the first collection in our present Psalter was edited. Is it not natural, therefore, to look to the date of the re-dedication of

the Temple in the days of Simon, as that of the last increase and final editing of the Psalter?

There are certain indications in the third collection itself that such was the case. There are, for instance, the *hallel* psalms (113-118), which in later times were sung upon the feast of the *encænïa* or dedication, and which there is every reason to believe were composed for the first dedication feast in the time of Simon.

Again, the character of many of the psalms points in a marked way to the circumstances of the Maccabean age.\* To say nothing of the traces of lateness in the language (*Cf.* Psalm 139), we find evidences in these psalms of the terrible hardships through which the people have passed, the treachery and cowardice of so many Jews, the enduring fortitude of so many others; finally, their providential escape and victory.

In Psalm 118 [writes Professor Robertson Smith†] Israel, led by the House of Aaron—this is a notable point—has emerged triumphant from a desperate conflict, and celebrates at the Temple a great day of rejoicing for the un hoped for victory; in Psalm 149 the saints are pictured with the praises of God in their throat, and a sharp sword in their hands to take vengeance on the heathen, to bind their kings and nobles, and exercise against them the judgment written in prophecy.

To this may be added the evidence of the titles, the paucity of authors' names, and the almost total absence of musical terms. Many of the psalms were recent: all were, if not written, at least edited, for Temple and congregational use; and so there was not always the same interest in the names of the psalm writers as there had been in the case of the psalms of the earlier collections. The omission of the musical titles, too, would seem to point to a time for the formation of the collection when the old Hebrew music had ceased to be used in the Temple, its place, no doubt, having been taken by the music of the Greeks.

It must not, however, be taken for granted that all the psalms in the third collection belong to the Maccabean

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\* Psalms 118 and 149.

† "Old Testament in Jewish Church," p. 210.

age. Many of them no doubt do ; and others, though not so late, are probably later than the titles would seem to imply. We cannot, for example, accept the 90th Psalm as literally the composition of the leader of the Exodus. It is incredible that such a treasure—had it really been the work of Moses—would have been omitted from the earlier collections. Rather does it seem to have been uttered in the person of Moses, as he now stands at the entrance of the Promised Land, and, reviewing the hardships of the past, exults in the peaceful prospects of the future. In such a position does the psalmist stand, free at length from Syrian oppression, and entering upon a term of peace and prosperity. Perhaps with some such idea did the editor entitle this psalm "to Moses," and place it at the head of the third collection.

But this part of the Psalter contains psalms which go back beyond the exile.\* Others, too, though post-exilic, are much earlier than the time of the Maccabees. Such are the gradual psalms, which give expression to the joy and gladness with which, in festival seasons, the pilgrims ascended to the Holy City. They are hymns of the laity, and it is probably to this fact that they owe their exclusion from the earlier collections.†

No canon of literary criticism [writes Professor R. Smith, regarding psalms in this part of the Psalter ascribed to early writers] can assign value to an attestation which first appears so many years after the supposed date of the poems, especially when it is confronted by facts so conclusive as that Psalm 108 is made up of extracts from Psalms 57 and 60; that in Psalm 104, 10, the singer expressly distinguishes himself from David ('O thou . . . that didst save David from the hurtful sword, save me'), and that Psalm 139 is marked by its language as one of the latest pieces in the whole book. The only possible question for the critic is whether all these titles rest on editorial conjecture, or whether some of the psalms exemplify the habit so common in later Jewish literature of writing in the name of ancient worthies.

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\* Cf. "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 362.

† Cf. "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 362.

## V.

1. It is sometimes felt that, in assigning late dates to certain psalms, critics are largely influenced by their own personal leanings, and that they not unfrequently imagine that the historical circumstances, say, of the Persian or Greek period, are the only ones which will accord with the context of this or that psalm, whereas, in reality, if viewed impartially, it may be quite as well adapted to an earlier age. And there certainly is not much doubt that critics do, at times, approach the study of the Psalms with an undue bias in favour of their late origin. One can hardly help getting the impression, for example, from Professor Cheyne's works, that he attaches a good deal of importance to daring conclusions; that he is somewhat affected by the "record-breaking" craze of the day; and that he conceives a writer to have achieved something to be proud of if he has gone further than any of his predecessors. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that, in discussing the dates of the psalms, there is a danger of one's judgment being unduly swayed by a sentimental liking for old ideas and a suspicion in regard to new ones. Now, such a fact as the following will show that, even in centuries gone by, when men studied the psalms with a view to passing judgment impartially as to the age to which they referred, they not unfrequently decided that they related to very late times. Thus, Theodoret says that Psalms 43 and 78 allude to the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, and Psalm 73 to the destruction of Jerusalem.\* It is true he held that these psalms were spoken prophetically of the times to which they refer. But the important point to notice is that he understood these psalms to refer to very late times.

2. It may be said that the remarks made in this paper are very indefinite. They form but a faint outline. Little of the picture is filled in. That is so; and it may further be admitted that propositions of the most simple and explicit kind might be laid down as to the age and authorship of the Psalms. Take, for instance, the following passage from the "Psallite Sapienter"†:

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\* "Commentary on these Psalms."

† Page xi.

*Psalterium Davidicum* (properly speaking, "David's Harp") is the title of the sacred Book of Psalms; the greater part of them, about ninety in number, having been composed by the King himself, just mentioned; the rest be others, viz., Moses, Solomon, David's three chief singers, the sons of Core, and several others whose names are not known.

These words are perfectly clear. But the clearer the conclusion, the clearer ought to be the premisses. And it has seemed to us that the evidence is not sufficiently strong to warrant us in laying down such decided statements as these. Rather the subject seems in the same stage that the map of Africa passed through earlier in the century, with much still to be filled in.

What light the future may throw on the Psalter it is too soon to say. Progress is certainly being made, especially in explaining the titles. It may also be said that allusions to late events occurring in the Psalter are less often explained by the prophetic gifts of the writers than they used to be. That the psalms contain prophecies there is no doubt. But it is obvious that historical references should be explained by means of this gift with prudence. If universally adopted, it would make literary criticism impossible, just as the sciences of chronology and geology would be if the strata in the earth's surface were explained on the principle that God made them so in the beginning.

The study of the Psalter is a most complex one, because it is certain that the psalms have been altered and interpolated—under the guidance of the Holy Ghost—so as to adapt them to different ages and circumstances. The student cannot confine himself to the Psalter alone if he wish to gain any deep insight into the work. He must acquaint himself not merely with David's life, but with Israel's history to the Maccabean age, and he must try to determine the relation existing between the Psalms and the Mosaic books. In a word, the study of the Psalter must go *pari passu* with that of the Old Testament in general if any solid and reliable results are to be arrived at.

What study could be more worthy of the Christian scholar ! It means, really, to investigate the history of the Old Testament liturgy ; to trace the development of the music and psalmody of the Jewish Temple ; to examine into the origin and growth of the Psalters out of which the Book of Psalms is formed ; and, as far as possible, to ascertain who were the actual writers of the Psalms.

J. A. HOWLETT, O.S.B.

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## ART. VI.—MADAME MARIE, OF THE SACRED HEART, ON CONVENT EDUCATION.

IT was at Claremont in Auvergne, while the eleventh century was passing away, that Pope Urban II. published the first crusade, and, as Lingard relates, "called 'on all present to lay aside the dissensions which prevailed among them, and to unite in one general attempt to drive back the Turkish hordes, and to rescue from pollution the sepulchre of Christ." And now across the English Channel there comes to us the echo of a cry for another crusade, uttered while the nineteenth century was passing away, at a spot within sight of the mountains of the same Auvergne. Madame Marie of the Sacred Heart tells us: "C'est d'une humble cellule d'un monastère d'Auvergne assise près d'une fenêtre s'ouvrant sur un vaste horizon de montagnes, que j'ai écrit mes deux ouvrages."

The new crusade is not to be fought with sword and battle-axe of steel. It is a spiritual crusade of intellect and will, and its watchword is the name of the great Archangel, "Who is like to God." Its object is not to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, that was "hewed in stone" by Joseph of Arimathea, from the hands of the Turks; but to rescue the still holier sepulchres, the souls of our daughters, in which our risen Lord was laid at their first Communion, from the worse than Turkish tyranny of a godless education.

The floods of worldliness, Agnosticism, and false philosophy are rolling in, billow upon billow, and threaten to engulf the Church, the State, and the family, just as in the eleventh century the hordes of Mohammed's followers threatened to overwhelm Christendom. Some statistics are given of the rising tide in France. The lycées and colleges for girls were founded in 1884. In 1888 they contained 6,946 pupils; in 1892 they had 12,744; and in 1896



the number was 15,709. A letter of Cardinal Lavigerie on this subject is quoted: and in the light of events now passing in France it reads almost like a prophecy. He says:

While with one strong hand Mgr. Affre maintained the struggle for liberty of teaching, with the other that great prelate was preparing, with true practical instinct, the weapons which would be needed one day to win the victory. Would to God all the other bishops of France had understood then, that to save religious teaching, from the humble school of Brothers and Sisters to the highest levels of public education, it was necessary to fight with equal weapons, by taking the same degrees and the same certificates as the professors of secular instruction! They did not do it, and we know what it has cost us, and what it will cost us still.

The immediate aim of the crusade is to establish in France a Catholic Normal School for the higher education of women, in which nuns devoted to education may be trained, so as to raise the level of teaching in convents. The appeal is based on a reiteration, in many forms, and backed by many quotations, of a thought expressed by Father Faber with his usual felicity. He says in "Bethlehem," and in the chapter on "Soul and Body":

We must learn to look at creatures from God's point of view; and we have seen that His own perfections involve the importance of creatures in His sight. If we lay this view aside, our theology will detach itself more and more from the mind and movement of the living generations, and so will abdicate that sovereignty over other sciences which is not only its lawful heritage, but is now more than ever within its grasp.

This is the burden of the song; the opportunity which the present condition of men's minds affords us for grasping the helm of human thought and steering it towards God instead of towards the abyss. On the other hand, if we, like the slothful servant, are found wanting at this crisis, we shall learn to our cost, that "from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken."

This is how the writer describes the present state of affairs:

Here is a society which, a few centuries ago, was educated entirely by priests and religious, and this society has arrived at a terrible degree of indifference about all that touches the things of God and the things of the soul. In this society, which business and money has absorbed to the extent of making each individual not a religious animal, but a speculating animal, the material has overpowered the ideal, the body rules the soul, the love of gold has supplanted God. Our churches are empty, and the men, whom the holy water of Baptism has regenerated, have lifted a sacrilegious hand against Christ. They have driven Him from their public buildings, their assemblies, their schools, even the family and the soul of the child. The remembrance of the Christian virgin, who not long ago taught them to stammer the name of God, has not stopped their legal vandalism. And over this society, whose daughters, wives, mothers we have educated, we have no more influence than if we did not exist. Our world, becoming ever more and more un-Christian, is travelling towards unknown abysses, which will inevitably call down Divine justice, as sin calls for punishment, and as trees attract the thunderbolt. And in the soul of this society our teaching seems to have left hardly any more trace than the cloud has left upon the sky. We prevent nothing, we cure nothing ; and yet we have to form in the soul of the woman the soul of the nation. Woman, as daughter, wife, and mother, has in her hands a power great enough to act with all the force of a sovereign will upon the destinies of a country.

And how is this helplessness to be accounted for? It is because the *affections* only have been carefully cultivated, and the *intelligence* has been proportionally starved. What has been done, and what has not been done, are contrasted as follows :

We know the strength of those ties, which, even when intercourse has been suspended, often attach for ever a girl to her convent.

After enlarging upon the fragrant memory of the years spent there, the author continues :

This is the thrice happy time, when a girl really feels God in prayer, as only pure hearts can feel Him : never, perhaps, in the life which opens before her, will she feel God so near.

To maintain that the secular school, which is called a college or lycée, tends to leave in the soul of the girl such life-giving seeds of virtue, of joy, of purity, would be to utter a stupidity, which no one probably would believe; but we may regret that to this powerful recollection, which guards the heart, there is not always added the light which subdues the intelligence, the reasonable conviction, which would become, in spite of all novelties, a lighthouse too high to be ever extinguished, a guiding principle for the whole life. Then we should not see the strange anomaly of women thirty years old keeping for their convent a tenderness full of enthusiastic recollection, and forgetting that they are Christians, because our influence, languishing under the wounds of so many deadly influences, has faded into a poetical myth of their childhood. They love us, they value us, they reverence us still, but they believe in us no longer.

This recalls the *bon mot* in which St. Teresa recorded her experience of the outcome of unintelligent piety:

The piety evaporates, but the stupidity remains.

It recalls, also, the pathetic appeal of Cardinal Vaughan in his recent Lenten Pastoral:

Writing to you, as we do, from the very tomb of Blessed Peter, we beseech you to hearken to his words, if you will not heed our repeated injunctions. Be ye all of one mind (he says), having compassion one of another, being lovers of the brotherhood, being always ready to satisfy every one that asketh a reason of the hope that is in you.

There is the weak point in our education—at least of girls. Our teachers, as a rule, are not given a sufficiently *intellectual* formation to enable them “to satisfy every one that asketh a reason of the hope that is in them.”

Especially they are not able to satisfy their pupils. The practical consequence of this is graphically described by Madame Marie:

Si la jeune fille peut se dire tout bas Elle est bien naïve  
Mme. une Telle ! Mme. une Telle a perdu son temps. La  
première condition pour guérir est d'avoir foi en son  
médecin. Pour suivre un conseil, il faut croire le conseiller  
infaillible. Or, il n'est rien comme le savoir pour donner  
l'autorité morale, que notre siècle, de plus en plus critique et  
raisonneur, refuserait peut être même à la sainteté.

On the other hand, if we only do our part, the victory is still within our grasp :

To admit that study is injurious to souls is *ipso facto* to admit that religion has something to fear from the discoveries of science . . . and that the Creator cannot reign except in the dark. God forbid that we should consent to such a blasphemy. Christianity is sure to draw from study a magnificent triumph. The soul that had an intuitive faith, a Christianity of sentiment and habit, an inheritance rather than a conquest, an instinct rather than a conviction, will acquire by study principles, the foundations of which are rooted in the intelligence and the will. It will have, according to the beautiful expression of Père Lacordaire, "an explicit, sovereign, and indefectible certitude, which knows the grounds of its faith ; a certitude like that of St. Augustine, of St. Thomas Aquinas, of Bossuet, of Fenelon."

Again, looking at the prospects from a natural point of view, it is clear that it is only our apathy and individual isolation that is surrendering our unique advantages into the hands of the enemy. First, we are invited to consider that everything has been changed during the last twenty years, and that nothing now succeeds except success ; and that the infidel world, knowing well that the victory of the future depends upon the teaching of the present, is sparing no effort to capture the schools ; so much so that—

Everything is in the opposite camp—money, science, energy, unity, organisation, and centralisation. On the other hand, we are each limited to our own individual resources ; no exchange of ideas, of inventions, of methods. Each house, averse to any development of thought, remains an impenetrable sanctuary, without intercourse with other houses, without elasticity, without intellectual life. . . . Nevertheless, even so, we are still a power capable of disturbing the sleep of the hateful separatists. They know that to regain our place and the position acquired by our undeniable merits, the position that belongs to us as representatives of the Church, we have only to will it. *Organised, nothing could resist us ; but it is necessary for us to organise ourselves.*

Again we are told :

In France Christianity is not dead, it is only asleep,  
[No. 38 of Fourth Series.]

perhaps, as Lacordaire said, "tied to the dead." "Cut the cords," he added, "and it will rise again." It is our duty to cut these bands, to make the rising generation understand the words of truth and of faith, which it longs for, and which no other teaching is able to give it.

In another place an answer is given to the pessimism which says that it is *no use* organising ; that society is too far gone, and is past praying for.

It is true that people are talking about the dead nations, and say that France is on the point of death. Prophets prophesy her ruin, and seers fix the date. Scientific prophets and intellectual seers, the one and the other, deduce mathematically from history and philosophy their alarming revelations. What will be the end of it? That is the secret of God, no doubt ; but it is also the issue of the struggle, the result of the combined efforts to destroy or save our country. There are times in the life of a people, when there comes an insoluble, and yet unavoidable problem in her mysterious destinies. At such times all persons of good will ought to unite on the side of good : to let evil advance, to be inactive, is culpable. God has made the nations curable ; He wishes to cure them. Our miraculous history, the record of the acts of God, tells us that twenty times we ought to have died ; it tells us that after each crisis we have risen up stronger and more glorious than before. But, if Christ has always conquered, it is because upon the earth brave men have always worked with Him.

The book ends with a quotation from Cardinal Perraud in the same sense. And, finally, as an Appendix, there is an extract from the Encyclical of December 8th, 1897, to the Canadian Bishops on the question of schools.

Such is the main body of the work : an appeal for some sort of united effort to arrest the growing tendency which is silently sapping the foundations of the whole system of convent education : the tendency of parents to send all their clever daughters to secular schools, and only the stupid ones to convents.

This is the chief topic. But there is a long Introduction, in which the objections to Madame Marie's special proposal are discussed. She tells us that she has been accused of Americanism, Feminism, and an exaggerated admiration for the University. Wide and deep questions are presented

here, and it would be rash to attack them in a short review. Speaking generally, her answer is that she advocates nothing but the application to the present state of affairs of those principles on which the Church has always acted, and those principles which, in a general way, have been the motive of every educational effort, in virtue of which she has triumphed. In the history of a French teaching Order, founded sixty years ago, an Order which has of late received a very special mark of confidence from Leo XIII., we find this summary of the aim of their teaching in a letter written in 1845 by the Assistant Superior to Mgr. Dupanloup, who had asked for particulars :

D'autres maisons d'éducation, même religieuses, s'adressent plus à l'imagination, aux facultés affectueuses ; nous, plus à l'intelligence, pour la christianiser en la développant, plus à la volonté pour la rendre capable de renoncement et sacrifice.

Many things have happened since 1845, and Madame Marie thinks that these same aims demand of us to-day a further modification of our tactics.

Perhaps the most practical part of the volume is that in which the author discusses the main difficulty in the way of the realisation of her hopes.

The grand difficulty is that which Charles V. recognised, when in his retreat at Yuste he tried to make all his clocks go together. |

How foolish I was [said he] to fancy that I could make human beings go together, when I cannot do it even with clocks

And now the question is not of clocks, but of convents. In the Preface, written by the Abbé Fremont, Doctor in Theology and Canon of Poitiers, we read :

If our teaching Orders of women unite together to found a superior training college, where their teachers will learn, according to programmes in harmony with the irresistible tendencies of our times, the great art of teaching, and the still greater art of uniting the reasonable explanation of the Christian doctrines with secular knowledge, we can boldly prophesy beforehand that Catholic France will be saved. If not, Rationalism may congratulate itself ; it will never

have given us a more deadly blow than that which will result from the secular teaching of the lycées for girls. Our experience of it, indeed, has already begun, and how miserable it is.

Then he describes the Temple of Neptune at Pœstum, near Naples, imposing at a distance, but found on approach it to be without a roof, its altar destroyed, and its interior devastated : and he adds :

Alas ! such would be the melancholy image of our French teaching Orders, if their past glory were to serve as a magnificent argument in favour of resisting the indispensable progress which is now applying for admittance.

It is on the possibility of union among convents that all practically depends.

Can they, and will they combine ?

The answer given to the first question is a description of the Normal School at Bruges, under the direction of the Dames de St. André, founded by the Bishop of Bruges in 1859.

In the academical year 1898-99 the course was followed by 125 nuns of 64 different congregations. In reply to the question, Will they ? another question is asked :

Why should the nuns of France be more difficult to guide, and have a less solid religious spirit than the nuns of Belgium ?

It is admitted that human nature being human nature, it is naturally difficult. The difficulty is stated thus :

Mais, dit-on, votre ordre va accaparer le monopole d'enseignement religieux. Pourquoi tel ordre et non tel autre ?

The answer is :

Il faut que nos idées soient plus larges, nos cœurs plus grands, que notre zèle soit plus généreux, et notre amour propre plus sacrifié. Nous avons pour ancêtres ceux dont l'attitude fraternelle arrachait aux païens ce cri spontané, "Voyez comme ils s'aiment."

Aussi, dans nos rangs, la rivalité ne saurait trouver place, et nous savons que "toute maison divisée contre elle-même périra."

The fifth edition of this book, published in 1899, has the



*imprimatur* of the Bishop of Laval, and is preceded by letters of more or less complete approval from two Archbishops, viz., those of Avignon and Besançon, and seven bishops, viz., those of La Rochelle, Tarentaise, Bayonne, Agen, Angoulême, Le Puy, and Pamiers; also an *Avant-propos* by the Abbé Naudet. Finally, the writer pleads guilty, by implication, to having exhibited in her own person, and in this very work, an example of the deficiency which she deplores in the religious teaching Orders generally. To borrow a metaphor from Professor Adams, she knows Latin, but she does not know John. Verbs of teaching govern *two* accusatives, and it is not sufficient to know only one of them. Writers should know "their public" as well as their subject. It is bad to wound those whom we want to win. It is hard for those, who are working for God with all their heart and soul, to see the shortcomings, which it has not been hitherto in their power to prevent, exaggerated by one of themselves, before the eyes of an unsympathising and often hostile world.

If Madame Marie had been blessed with the education, which she is labouring to provide for her sisters who are to come after her, perhaps she would have been able to probe the wounds with a gentler hand, or even to do without the probe, and to use the Röntgen rays instead. It would be easy for those, who read this book without any personal knowledge of convent education, to run away with the idea that that education is much more defective than it really is.

Much has been done, and is being done, to raise it to a higher level. Still, it is not likely that enough will be done, or that it will be done fast enough, to save the system from gradual extinction by the withdrawal of the pupils, unless convents join together in a united effort to meet the special and ever increasing requirements of a novel and rapidly developing state of things. Last year the very able mistress of studies in one of the most up to date of London convents, expressed to the writer of this article her firm belief, that convent education would inevitably die of inanition, unless some means were quickly found to stimulate it into a more successful competition with the alternative secular system. The verdicts of

history and philosophy, of experience and religion, alike attest, that in union is strength,\* and in separation and aloofness is weakness and dissolution. But, whether confederation for the purposes of united action takes place or not, three needs are beginning to be generally felt in England and in English convent schools :

1. The need of a higher intellectual standard of studies ;
2. The need of sifting teachers, so as to eliminate those who have not the necessary gifts ;
3. The need of organising the staff in each school.

When such important points are fully grasped, the necessity and the meaning of training will be better understood, and the value of a common centre, by means of which the special advantages of each are made available for all, will come to be more justly appreciated.

T. F. WILLIS.

## Decrees of Roman Congregations.

**Letter of the Holy Father**, confirming the Joint Pastoral on  
Liberal Catholicism, issued by the Bishops of England :

Venerabilibus Fratribus

Herberto S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali Vaughan

Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi

Ceterisque ex Provincia Westmonasteriensi Episcopis

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles Fratres,

Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

In maximis occupationibus variisque acerbitatibus solatium Nobis non mediocre semper afferre consuevit summa et constans Episcoporum cum Apostolica Sede coniunctio. Qua laude abundare vos, Venerabiles Fratres, et antea cognoveramus, et hoc postremo tempore idem agnovimus; quo tempore communes litteras vestras, ad populum pro potestate datas, Nostris subiiciendas oculis curavistis, num responderent iudicio Nostro exquisituri. Sapientes illae visae sunt et graves. Vos videlicet a Spiritu Sancto positi Episcopi regere suam quisque partem Ecclesiae Dei, nosis optime omnium quid postulet populorum vestrorum salus, atque id, quod facto opus est, tempestive suadetis et prudenter. Nimis est cognita perniciēs, quae partim premit, partim impendet, ex opinionibus iis fallacissimis, quarum universum genus designari *Catholicismi Liberalis* appellatione solet. Magnitudinem discriminis, quod in catholicum nomen apud Anglos hoc tempore intenditur, nequaquam augetis dicendo, sed cuiusmodi est exprimitis; itemque in documentis praeceptisque Ecclesiae defixa, nihil ultra veritatem vestra excurrit oratio. Quod enim docendo, quod monendo complexi estis, id est omne a Decessoribus Nostris saepe tractatum, a Patribus Concilii Vaticani distincte traditum, a Nosmetipsis non semel vel sermone illustratum, vel litteris. Saluberrimum consilium, caveri a *Rationalismo* iussisse, qui callide versuteque grassatur, nec venenum est ullum fidei divinae nocentius. Similique ratione quid rectius, quam quod praeceptum a vobis est de obsequio Episcopis debito? Siquidem episcopali subesse a parere potestati nullo modo optio est, sed plane officium, idemque praecipuum constitutae divinitus Ecclesiae fundamentum. Itaque hisce vos de rebus et laudamus magnopere et probamus. Quae autem commemoratis dolenter mala, et recte sentientibus ad praecavendum ostenditis, ex eo fere, ut prima ab origine, nascuntur quod mundani plus nimio valuere spiritus, refugientibus

animis christianam consuetudinem patiendi, atque ad molliora defluentibus. Atqui conservare fidem inviolate et pro Christi causa propugnare, nisi magna et invicta a difficultatibus constantia, nemo homo potest. Dent igitur studiosius operam colendis animis, quot catholicum profitentur nomen: fidei grande munus prudentiae vigilantiaeque armis tueantur: elaborent vehementius in christianarum cultu atque exercitatione virtutum, potissimumque caritati, abnegationi, humilitati, rerumque caducarum contemptioni assuescant. Adhortati sumus alias, comprecari Deum omnipotentem insisterent, ut ad religionem avitam universum Anglorum genus restituat: vim autem impetrandi per mores probos, per innocentiam vitae quaeri diximus oportere. Iterum hodie monemus ac rogamus idem. Atque hujus rei causa propagari frequentarique piam Sodalitatem valde cupimus titulo *Mariae Matris Perdolentis* auctoritate Nostra institutam. Ita nempe catholicos singulos convenit pro salute aliena contendere, ut studeant insimul suae, ad sanctitatem ipsimet omni ope connixi. *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est* (Matt. v. 16). Ad extreimum sancta sit apud nostros observantia Romani Pontificatus: ac si qui ex adversariis auctoritatem eius aut elevare dictis, aut in suspicionem adducere nitantur, eos refellant non pavid, Venerabilis Bedae Ecclesiae doctoris objecta sententia: *Sed ideo beatus Petrus, qui Christum vera fide confessus, vero est amore secutus, specialiter claves regni coelorum et principatum iudiciariae potestatis accepit, ut omnes per orbem credentes intelligerent, quia quicumque ab unitate fidei, vel societate illius semetipsos segregent, tales nec vinculis peccatorum absolvi, nec ianuam possint revni coelestis ingredi* (Hom. Lib. 16). Divinorum munerum auspicem benevolentiaeque Nostrae paternae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, populoque vestro Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die xi. Februarii, anno MDCCCCL., Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

(Authorized Translation.)

To our Venerable Brethren,  
Herbert Vaughan, Cardinal Priest of the Holy  
Roman Church, Archbishop of Westminster,  
and to the other  
Bishops of the Province of Westminster.

LEO XIII., Pope.

Venerable Brethren,

Health and Apostolic Benediction.

In the midst of most grave occupations and many sorrows, the close union between the Episcopate and the Apostolic See has always brought to Us the greatest consolation. We had already, Venerable Brethren, had abundant experience in you of

this praiseworthy loyalty ; and We have seen it again lately in your submitting to Our consideration and judgment the joint Letter which, in the exercise of your pastoral office, you have addressed to your flocks.

Your Letter has seemed to Us indeed both wise and important. Placed by the Holy Ghost as Bishops, to rule each one his own part of the Church of God, you have an intimate knowledge of the spiritual wants of your people ; and you have given to them the timely and prudent exhortation which they need. Too well known is the actual and threatening mischief of that body of fallacious opinions which is commonly designated as *Liberal Catholicism*. Without in any way exaggerating the danger which menaces the Catholics of England, you show wherein that danger lies ; and your Letter, based on the teaching and precepts of the Church, contains nothing but the truth. For all that is contained in your teaching and admonitions has frequently been dealt with by Our predecessors, has been clearly laid down by the Fathers of the Vatican Council, and has often been explained by Ourselves both orally and by Our Apostolic Letters.

You have done most wisely in issuing a solemn warning against the subtle and insidious spread of *Rationalism*, than which no poison is more fatal to divine Faith. In like manner, nothing is more in accordance with right doctrine than what you have laid down as to the obedience due to Episcopal authority ; for subjection and obedience to that authority are in no sense optional, but plainly a duty and a main foundation on which the Church of God is built. We therefore most heartily give you Our praise and approbation for these things.

The evils which you deplore, and which you warn right-minded Catholics to shun, have generally their origin in an excessive spirit of worldliness, in a reluctance to any kind of Christian self-sacrifice, and in an inclination to a soft and easy life. It is, however, impossible for any man to preserve inviolate the Catholic faith, and to defend and advance the interests of Jesus Christ, unless by a great and unconquerable constancy. Catholics, therefore, must devote themselves more earnestly to the cultivation of the spiritual life ; protect the great gift of Faith by carefully guarding against the dangers that menace it ; labour more zealously in training themselves to the practice of Christian virtues ; and especially they must grow in the virtues of charity, self-denial, humility, and contempt of the perishable things of this world.

Some time ago We exhorted Catholics to unite in fervent prayer to God to bring back the English people to the religion of their forefathers ; and We insisted that they should endeavour to make their prayers prevail by leading themselves an exemplary and holy life. We again to-day admonish and beseech them to put Our exhortation into practice. For this purpose We earnestly

desire that the Sodality of *Mary, the Mother of Sorrows* [Confraternity of our Lady of Compassion], instituted by Our authority, may be widely spread and warmly taken up. For it is fitting that all Catholics should so strive for the salvation of others as at the same time to spare no pains to sanctify their own souls. "*Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.*"\*

Lastly, Catholics should always pay a holy submission and obedience to the Roman See; and if its opponents seek either to disparage its authority, or to sow in men's minds suspicion and distrust of its guidance, let them be boldly refuted in these words of Venerable Bede, a Doctor of the Church: "*And therefore did Blessed Peter, having confessed Christ with a true faith, and followed Him with a true love, receive in a special manner the keys of the kingdom of heaven and the sovereignty of judicial power, that all the faithful throughout the world might understand that whosoever separate themselves from the unity of the Faith, or from his fellowship, can neither be released from the chains of their sins, nor enter the gate of the heavenly kingdom.*"†

As a pledge of divine gifts, and in testimony of paternal good will, we most lovingly in the Lord bestow upon you, Venerable Brethren, and upon your people the Apostolic Blessing.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 11th day of February, in the year 1901, the twenty-third year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., Pope.

We are indebted to our contemporary, the *Irish Ecclesiastica Record*, for the following:

**Decree of the Congregation of the Inquisition** as to attendance at Protestant memorial services:

Beatissime Pater.

Archiepiscopus Dublinensis ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humillime petit solutionem insequentis dubii:

Utrum liceat catholicis, qui munere funguntur Consiliariorum Privatorum Regis [Privy Councillors], assistere cuidam functioni acatholicae, Dublini mox celebrandae, in memoriam Reginae Victoriae nuper in haeresi protestantium defunctae: idque ut reverentiam suam erga demortuam Reginam ostendant?

Feria IV., 30 Januarii, 1901.

In Congreg. Generali habita ab Emis. ac Rmis. Dnis. Card. Gen. Inquisitoribus, proposito infrascripto dubio, iidem Emi. Dni. respondendum censuerunt: Prout exponitur: *Negative*.

Insequenti vero feria VI, die 1 Februarii ejusdem anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de hisce

\* Matt. v. 16.

† Hom. Lib. 16.

omnibus relatione SSmo. D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. PP. XIII.,  
idem SSmus. Dnus. responsonem Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I.,

*Notarius.*

**The Holy Father**, at the request of Cardinal Perraud, grants a Plenary Indulgence, to be gained on the first Friday of every month during the year 1901, and also a Plenary Indulgence during the same year to all making a pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial, and there receiving Holy Communion.

**E. Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum.**

Conceduntur Indulg. pro futuro anno 1901 ad fovendum cultum S.S. Cordis Jesu.

Cardinalis PERRAUD Episcopus Augustodunensis sequentes preces Bmo. Patri obtulit.

Très Saint Père.

(1.) Votre Sainteté a consacré les nations au Cœur de Jésus et nous a dit dans la glorieuse encyclique *Annum Sacrum* que le salut du monde était dans ce nouveau Labarum. Pour faire porter à ce grand acte des fruits de plus en plus abondants, Votre Sainteté daignerait-elle inviter par l'indult d'une faveur spéciale les fidèles à communier l'année prochaine le premier vendredi de chaque mois pour consacrer le 20<sup>e</sup> siècle au Cœur de Jésus? Ce rendez-vous des chrétiens les plus fervents à la Table Sainte, en un jour spécialement choisi par Notre Seigneur lui même, serait un spectacle imposant et une vision réconfortante qui dominerait de haut tout le 20<sup>e</sup> siècle et ferait planer sur lui, comme une bénédiction, l'image adorée du Cœur de Jésus. Je supplie donc humblement Votre Sainteté de vouloir bien exprimer, sous la forme et par la voie qu'Elle jugera les plus opportunes, qu'Elle a ce dessein pour agréable et d'accorder une indulgence plénière spéciale chaque premier vendredi du mois de l'année 1901 à ceux qui communieront dans l'intention de consacrer le 20<sup>e</sup> siècle au Sacré Cœur et de lui en offrir les prémices et la royauté.

(2.) Grâce à l'approbation donnée par Votre Sainteté aux pèlerinages de Paray-le-Monial et à l'appel envoyé par le sus-dit Cardinal aux évêques étrangers, des milliers de fidèles de tout pays sont venus cette année dans la ville que vous avez nommée *Coelo gratissimum oppidum*. Tout fait prévoir que ce mouvement continuera et que beaucoup de pèlerins viendront encore en 1901 prier le Sacré Cœur au lieu de ses grandes révélations. Pour en attirer un plus grand nombre, j'ose encore demander à Votre Sainteté d'accorder une indulgence plénière spéciale à tous ceux qui communieront à Paray en 1901 dans l'intention de consacrer le 20<sup>e</sup> siècle au S. Cœur et de lui en offrir les prémices et la royauté.



Très Saint Père.

Votre Sainteté par l'un des plus grands actes qui marqueront la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, a consacré le genre humain au Cœur miséricordieux de Notre Sauveur. Ce sera un nouveau bienfait pour le monde, une nouvelle gloire pour Jésus Christ et son Vicaire, une nouvelle joie pour nos Cœurs, si Vous daignez faire pour le 20<sup>e</sup> siècle ce que vous avez fait pour le 19<sup>e</sup> en accordant les deux faveurs que je sollicite de votre inépuisable bonté.

Daignez agréer, Très Saint Père l'hommage de la profonde vénération avec laquelle je suis

De Votre Sainteté,

Le très humble, très obéissant. et très dévoué serviteur et fils en Notre Seigneur et sa créature

✠ ADOLPHE LOUIS ALBERT Card. PERRAUD,  
*Evêque d'Autun, Chalons et Macon.*

S.S. Dnus Noster LEO, P.P. XIII. in audientia habita die 6 Decembris, 1900, ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S.C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, piissimum Emi. Epi. Augustodunensis propositum in supplici libello enunciatum summopere commendans, Plenariam Indulgentiam, animabus quoque igne Purgatorii detentis applicabilem, benigne concessit, ab universis Christifidelibus acquirendam.

(I.) Qui prima qualibet feria sexta cujusvis mensis anni mox futuri, juxta intentionem in precibus expressam, vere poenitentes ac confessi ad S. Synaxim accesserint, simulque aliquo temporis spatio ad mentem Sanctitatis Suae pias preces effuderint :

(II.) Qui infra annum adventurum eumden finem superius memoratum persequentes, conjunctim cum aliqua devota perigrinatione Ecclesiam S.S. Cordi Jesu in oppido Paray-le-Monial dicatam inviserint, itemque sacramentali confessione expiati et S. Eucharistia refecti, uti Supra oraverint.

Praesenti valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secret. ejusdem S.C. die 9 Decembris 1900.

S. Card. CRETONI, Praef.

L. + S.

FRANCISCUS, Archiepus Amiden,  
*Secretarius.*

### **Our Holy Father and the Archconfraternity of our Lady of Compassion for the Conversion of England.**

Letter to the Director-General of the Confraternity.

Dilecto Filio G. BILLECOCQ Sodali Sulpitiano, Parisios  
LEO P.P. XIII.

Dilecti Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem Apostolicis Litteris die xxii. Augusti, MDCCCXCVII. datis Archisodalitatem ereximus, precum ac piorum operum pro reditu Britanniae ad fidem Catholicam, sub patrocinio Beatae Mariae Virginis

Perdolentis. Memores autem studii, quo Joannes Olierus Congregationis Sulpitianae auctor, flagravimus reconciliandae Angliae cum Romana Ecclesia, eandem Archisodalitatem in Aedibus Sulpitiano constituimus et moderatori supremo Sulpitianorum regendam ac propagandam tradidimus. Spem quidem Nostram in vestro Instituto jure recteque collocatam fuisse exitus abunde comprobatur.

Ex epistola enim, quam nuper a te accepimus magna animi jucunditate cognovimus in perdolentis Virginis sodalitatem quam plures ubique gentium Cooptatos esse ac cooptari. Hic autem catholicorum ardor, optatis Nostris obsecundantium, ne porro desideat sed augeatur visum vobis est commentarios pluries in anno edendos suscipere, in quibus sodalitatis dignitas illustretur ejusdemque progressus narrentur. Opportunum sane opus et maximae utilitatis.

Cujus cum tibi Dilecte Fili, cura sit demandata, gratulamur tibi et coeptis secunda ominamur. Ne vero desint subsidia coelestia quae labores tuos foecundent; horum auspicem et benevolentiae Nostrae testem, Apostolicam benedictionem tibi tuisque adjutoribus amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xiii. Septembris, MCM. pontificatus nostri anno vicesimo tertio.

LEO P.P. XIII.

### Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

#### (1.) Serving Mass in Convent Schools.

An in Conservatoriis puellarum Missae a Cappellano celebratae inservire possint, extra cancellos vel longius ab Altari, aliqua ex puellis vel Monialibus, quum non facili sit alium inservientem invenire?

Resp. 18 Martii, 1899, in Alatrina ad 6, No. 4015. *Affirmative in casu; et ex necessitate.*

- (2.) Is there an obligation to celebrate a *Votive Mass* when a priest receives an honorarium to say Mass in honour of our Lady or a saint, or a *Requiem Mass* when Mass for the dead is asked?

Sacerdos, cui erogatur eleemosyna ad celebrandam Missam pro uno vel pluribus defunctis, aut votivam in honorem alicujus Mysterii, Beatae Mariae Virginis, vel Sancti, satisfacitne obligationi suae Missam faciendo Officio conformem, cum aliunde petitam Missam ritus diei non permittat, dummodo applicet juxta intentionem dantis eleemosynam?

Resp. 13 Junii, 1899, in Plurium Diocesumi ad 4, No. 4031.

*"Affirmative, sed consultius est, ut quantum fieri possit, intentioni eleemosynam erogantis satisfiat per Missam vel de Requie vel votivam."*

- (3.) Is it lawful for the organ to be played during the singing of the Preface and the Lord's Prayer at High Mass?

"An in cantu Praefationis et Orationis Dominicalis quoties Missae decantantur, Organa pulsari queant?

Resp. 27 Januarii, 1899. No. 4009. "*Obstat Caeremoniale Episcoporum Lib. I., cap. 28, s. 9, quod servandum est.*"

**Decree as to the last verse of the Hymn "Veni Creator."**

- (4.) **Decretum.**—Cum Commissio Liturgica quaestionem extendisset super conclusione Hymni *Veni Creator Spiritus*, utrum scilicet consultius esset necne eam semper immutatam dicere, Sacra Rituum Congregatio sententiam suam aperuit momentaque graviora exposuit, quibus innixa suum sentiendi modum amplexata fuerit. His aliisque probe consideratis.

Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio declaravit.

"Doxologiam *Deo Patri sit gloria—Et Filio qui a mortuis—Surrexit ac Paraclito—in saeculorum saecula*—ita esse censendam praefati Hymni propriam, ut eadem semper sit retinenda ac numquam quovis anni tempore vel quocumque occurrente Festo in aliam mutandam."

Atque ita servari mandavit. Die 20 Junii, 1899. No. 4036.

- (5.) Decree as to what constitutes a **Reliquia Insignis**.

Urbs et Orbis, 27 Junii, 1899. A Pluribus locorum Ordinariis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia diluenda proposita sunt; videlicet.

Dubium I.: Utrum pars anterior brachii, quae antibrachium dicitur ab alia parte superiori ejusdem brachii separata, haberi possit uti Reliquia insignis?

Dubium II.: Utrum idem sit dicendum de eadem parte superiori brachii, quatenus nempe et ipsa uti insignis Reliquia haberi queat?

Dubium III.: Utrum cor, lingua, manus, si ex miraculo intactae conserventur, haberi debeant uti Reliquiae insignes?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, re mature perpensa expositoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae, ad tria proposita dubia rescribendum censuit.

"*Affirmative.*" Et ita respondit ac declaravit. Die 27 Junii, 1899, No. 4041.

**The newly approved Scapular of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.**—In the last number of the DUBLIN REVIEW the Indulgences attached to this Scapular were published. We now publish the form of Blessing and Imposition of this Scapular together with the Decree recently issued on this matter by the Holy Father.

*Suscepturus Scapulare Sacri Cordis Jesu genuflectat et sacerdos Apostolica facultate pollens, stola alba indutus, capite detecto dicat:*

- V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.  
 R. Qui fecit coelum et terram.  
 V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.  
 R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.  
 V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.  
 R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.  
 V. Dominus vobiscum.  
 R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

*Oremus.*

Domine Jesu, que ineffabiles Cordis tui divitias Ecclesiae sponsae tuae singulari dilectionis beneficio aperuisti : hoc scapulare ejusdem Cordis tui emblema decoratum bene ✚ dicere digneris: ut quicumque illud devote gestaverit, intercedente Beata et Clementissima Genitrice tua Maria, virtutibus et donis coelestibus ditari mereatur. Qui vivis et regnas, &c.

*Postea Sacerdos Scapulare aspergit aqua benedicta illudque imponit dicens :*

Accipe, frater, hoc scapulare Sacri Cordis Jesu, quo ornatus in honorem et memoriam amoris et passionis ejus, per intercessionem Beatae Mariae Virginis Matris Misericordiae, divinae gratiae largitatem et aeternae gloria fructum consequi merearis. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.\*

*Deinde una vice cum adscripto dicat sive latino sive vernaculo idiomate sequentes preces jaculatorias.*

Jesu mitis et humilis corde, fac cor nostrum sicut cor tuum.

Maria mater gratiae, mater misericordiae Tu nos ab hoste proteges et mortis hora suscipe.

#### DECRETUM

Quo Caritas Dei per Spiritum Sanctum diffusa constanter maneat et regnet in cordibus hominum, mirabiliter confluunt divina sacramenta et religiosae celebritates.

Inter has accensenda est solemnitas in honorem Sacri Cordis Jesu ab Ecclesia instituta, per quam non modo Cor Filii Dei et hominis adorandum et glorificandum proponitur, sed etiam symbolice renovatur memoria illius divini amoris quo idem Unigenitus Dei Filius humanam suscepit naturam, et factus obediens usque ad mortem, praeiit hominibus exempla virtutum, seque ostendit mitem et humilem corde.

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\* Si scapulare mulieri imponatur, dicatur. *Accipe soror, &c.*  
 Si vero pluribus, tum omnia plurali numero dicantur.

Verum studiosa fidelium pietas alias invexit modos, quibus ad eundem finem devotio erga Amantissimum Cor Jesu jucundis uberibusque fructibus ferax propagatur. Penes quamplurimos Christifideles pia ac laudabilis vigit et viget consuetudo gestandi supra pectus emblemata ipsius S. Cordis Jesu, ad instar scapularis, quae consuetudo a Beata Maria Alacoque quodam coelesti lumine illustrata originem duxit, et ab Apostolica Sede partialibus indulgentiis locupletata est. Quum vero similis devotis foveatur et majora in dies capiat incrementa, praesertim in Galliis finitimisque regionibus; humiles enixaeque preces SSmo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. porrectae sunt, ut ad majorem Regni Christi ejusque divini amoris propagationem et gloriam provehendam, scapulare proprie dictum Sacri Cordis Jesu, cum apposito ritu et formula benedictionis atque impositionis approbare dignaretur. Hoc scapulare conficitur ex binis de more partibus laneis albi coloris, per duplicem chordulam seu vittam conjunctis, quarum una habet emblemata Sacri Cordis Jesu, prouti pingi solet, altera autem refert imaginem B. Mariae V. sub titulo *Mater Misericordiae*. Sanctitas porro Sua, has preces peramanter excipiens, ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto, scapulare supra descriptum benedicendum atque imponendum ritu et formula quae huic praejacent decreto, ab iis tantum quibus facultas ab Apostolica Sede concessa fuerit, approbare dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibus cumque.

Die 4 Aprilis, 1900.

Card. C. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C. pro Praef.

D. PANICI, *Secretarius*.

**Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites** by which faculties are given to the Superior-General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate to bless, and invest with the Scapular of the Sacred Heart, and to delegate such faculty to any priest, secular or regular.

Congr. Oblatorum Mariae Immaculae, 19 Maii, 1900.—Ab Apostolica Sede, die quarta mensis Aprilis vertente anno sacro, formula et ritu benedictionis proprie dicti Scapularis Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu approbatis, Rmus D. Cassianus Augier, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Oblatorum Mariae Immaculae, SSmo Dno Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. supplicia vota porrexit, humillime exostulans, ut sibi suisque successoribus, seu pro tempore ejusdem Instituti supremis Moderatoribus tribuatur facultas, tum benedicendi et imponendi ejusmodi Scapulare, tum ad ipsius benedictionem atque impositionem delegandi, praeter Sacerdotes suaemet Congregationis, quemlibet presbyterum e Clero, tam Saeculari quam Regulari. Sanctitas porro sua has preces ab infrascripto Cardinali Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Pro Praefecto relatas peramanter excipiens, petita privilegia supremo enunciati

Oblatorum Instituti Moderatori pro tempore benigne conferre in perpetuum dignata est, absque ulla Apostolici Brevis expeditione.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 19 Maii, 1900.

Card. C. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C. pro Praef.

D. PANICI, *Secretarius*.

**The Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.**—Certain doubts as to the Indulgences of the Privileged Altar and at the hour of death.

Vicarius Capitularis Archdioec. Leopoliu Ruthenor, a S. Indulgentiarum Congregatione humiliter expostulat solutionem sequentium dubiorum.

(I.) Utrum Indulgentia altaris privilegiati possit lucrificari pro anima unius defuncti, si respectiva Missa offertur non tantum pro defunctis, sed simul etiam pro vivis?

(II.) Cum ex una parte expresse statuatur quod Indulgentia in articulo mortis pro defunctis applicari non possit, ex altera vero parte, illi qui fecerunt actum heroicum pro defunctis, omnes Indulgentias, etsi alias pro defunctis non applicabiles, tamen pro ipsis offerre possint, ideo quaeritur.

(a.) An illi qui laudatum actum heroicum fecerunt possint, immo, si istum actum revocare nolunt, etiam debeant Indulgentiam lucrifactam in articulo mortis, pro defunctis offerre?

Atque si affirmative.

(b.) An posito isto actu heroico Indulgentia plenaria in articulo mortis, et si variis titulis et repetitis respectivis operibus lucrifacta, tamen una tantum et non pluribus vicibus pro defunctis lucretur?

Porro S. Cong. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, audito etiam unius Consultoris voto, respondendum mandavit.

Ad I.: Negative et detur decretum in una *Squillacen*.

(1.) d.d. 25 Augusti, 1897, ad dubium 2um.

Ad II.: Ad 1am partem: Non esse interloquendum.

Ad 2am partem: reformato dubio, uti sequitur.

An ii qui laudatum actum heroicum emisierunt, et ex variis titulis lucrari possunt plures Plenarias Indulgentias in mortis articulo, valeant saltem unam tantum Indulgentiam Plenariam pro defunctis lucrari, alias vero sibi reservare, resp: Ut in praecedenti responsione ad 1am partem et ad mentem: mens autem est plenariam Indulgentiam pro mortis articulo concessam una vice tantum lucrari, id est in vero mortis articulo, etsi moribundus ad eam jus habeat ex variis titulis.

Datum Romae ex Secr. ejusdem S. C. die 23 Januarii, 1901.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. + S.

✠ FRANCISCUS Archiep. Amideu.,

*Secretarius*.

[No. 38 of Fourth Series.]

**The Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition.**—An Archbishop asks for, and is refused permission, to allow a Protestant to be godfather at a Catholic baptism.

The Archbishop, *N.N.*, prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, humbly asks that he may permit a Protestant to act as godfather at the Catholic baptism of a daughter of parents of mixed religion, married only before an heretical minister. (Translated from the Italian.)

Feria iv. die 27 Junii, 1900.

In congregatione generali ab Emis ac Rmis D.D. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio prae habitoque R.R. D.D. Consultorum voto, iidem E.E. ac R.R. Patres respondendum mandarunt.

PERMITTI NON POSSE.

Sequenti vero feria v. loco vi. die 28 ejusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia. S.S. D.N. LEONIS Div. Prov. Papa XIII. a R.P.D. Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus D.N. resolutionem E.E. ac R.R. Patrum approbavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit., Notarius.*

**Anniversary Mass of Requiem.**—What prayers are to be said? In a recent case discussed and solved at the Roman Liturgical Academy, the following question was asked, and answered as follows :

3. Quenam normae, circa Orationum numerum et qualitatem, anniversaria dirigant ?

Resp. (a.) In Anniversariis quibuscumque unam tantum Orationem esse dicendam aperte docet Rubrica emendata Tit. v. n. 3: "Una tantum Oratio dicenda est in Missis omnibus, quae celebrantur in die Commemorationis omnium Fidelium defunctorum, die et pro die Obitus seu Depositionis, atque etiam in Missis cantatis vel lectis permittente ritu, diebus Trigesimo et die Anniversario alicujus defuncti nec non quandoque pro Defunctis Missa solemniter celebratur nempe sub ritu, qui duplici respondet, ut in Officio quod recitatur post acceptum nuntium de alicujus obitu et in Anniversariis late sumptis."

(b.) Cum Missa in Anniversario propriam habet Orationem nempe *Deus indulgentiarum Domine*, Rubrica autem ante Orationes diversas pro Defunctis posita aperte doceat aliam Orationem in Anniversario Summi Pontificis esse legendam, dubitatur an liberum sit Celebrante in caeteris Anniversariis Orationem *Deus indulgentiarum Domine* omittere unamque ex Orationibus diversis recitare. Tria pro certis habenda sunt.

(1.) In Anniversario Summi Pontificis dicendam esse Orationem. *Deus qui inter Summos Sacerdotes*, ut ex ipsa Rubrica (loc cit) constat.

(2.) In Anniversario Episcopi, Sacerdotis et Cardinalium tam



Episcoporum, quam Presbyterorum, Orationem *Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes* esse legendam, deduci ex Rubrica, si haec praesertim conferatur cum Decreto S.R.C. *Ordinis Carmelitarum exalceatorum Provinciae Poloniae* d.d. 29 Januarii, 1752. 2417 Hoc decreto S. Rituum Congregatio declaravit Orationem *Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes* in Anniversario Sacerdotis esse omnino adhibendam.

(3.) In Anniversario Cardinalis Diaconi Oratio *Inclina* dicendam esse, ut innuit Rubrica, et a pari facile demonstratur: nam si pro caeteris Patribus Purpuratis peculiaris Oratio est dicenda, et pro diaconis convenit peculiarem Orationem esse adhibendam. In caeteris Anniversariis, si forsitan Parentum Celebrantis excipias, nobis videtur Oratio *Deus indulgentiarum Domine* dicenda.

Haec enim Oratio cum sit pro Missa in Anniversario a Rubrica praescripta, in aliam mutari non debet, quin vel de legitimitate, vel saltem de convenientia immutationis constat. De hac autem legitimitate ex Rubricis non constat, nec ulla adducitur ratio, quae convenientiam saltem hujus immutationis comprobet.

Putamus tamen cum Guyeto (1) Orationem pro Parentibus Sacerdotis in Anniversario recitari posse, quippe quae magis propria videtur.

27 Junii, 1900.

## Science Notices.

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**The Electric Organ of the Electric Fish of the Nile.**—Recent investigations made by Professor Francis Gotch and Mr. G. J. Burch at Oxford have thrown considerable light on the action of the electric organ of that remarkable fish that is peculiar to the rivers of North and West Africa, and is called *Melapterurus electricus*. So potent is the electric shock which this fish can impart that small fish can be completely stunned in its neighbourhood, and human beings can be rendered very sensible of its existence, as, if the hand is held near the fish, a smart shock is received which extends to the shoulders.

In the abstract of a paper by Professor Gotch, published in the "Transactions of the Royal Institution" (December, 1900), the structure of the electrical organ is thus described :—

It is situated in the skin enclosing the whole body of the fish, and has a beautiful and characteristic appearance when seen in microscopic sections. Each organ consists of rows of compartments, and each compartment has slung athwart it a peculiar protoplasmic disc shaped like a peltate leaf, with a projecting stalk on its caudal side. Nerves enter each compartment, and, according to the recent work of Ballowitz, in the stalk of each disc. By these nerves nervous impulses can reach the organ; the arrival of such impulses at the nerve terminations evokes a state of activity which is associated with the development of electromotive charges of considerable intensity constituting the organ shock. The shock is an intense current traversing the whole organ from head to tail, and returning through the surroundings.

On the occasion of the delivery of his lecture at the Royal Institution, Professor Gotch exhibited a valuable series of photographic records of the displacement of the mercury of a capillary electrometer in consequence of the organ shock, showing the time relations, mode of commencement, and manner of subsidence of the shock, and demonstrating its similarity to the electrical changes existing in nervous tissue during the passage of a nervous impulse.

One of the most remarkable features of the organ shock elucidated by the researches of Professor Gotch and Mr. G. J. Burch appear to be its multiple character. The shock, even when evoked by a single stimulus, is rarely a single one. "Each effect consists of a rhythmical series of electrical changes occurring one after another in a perfectly regular manner at intervals of 1-100 sec. to 1-300 sec., the rate depending upon the temperature." It has been proved by experiment that the cause of this rhythmical series is self-excitation, each change producing an electric current of sufficient intensity to excite the nerves of the tissue in which it was generated. It is, therefore, only necessary that the initial member of the series should be evoked by nervous impulses descending the nerves, as the rest must follow. The organ is aptly compared to a self-loading and self-discharging automatic gun. As an example of the potency of the organ as a weapon, a fish only eight inches long can display an electromotive force of no less than 200 volts. This surprising maximum is due to the simultaneous development of perfectly similar electromotive changes in each of the two million discs of which the organ is composed. It is remarked that this intense total effect is not caused by any very intense electrical disturbance in each tissue element. In a single disc the maximum electromotive force is only from '04 to '05 volt, and in a small nerve an electrical charge of '03 to '04 volt has been noted. It is evident, therefore, that the intensity of the electromotive force is caused by the tissue elements being so arranged that the effect in one augments those simultaneously produced in its neighbourhood.

The character of the nervous connections of the electric organ is remarkable. "Each lateral half of the organ, although it has a million plates receiving nerve branches, is animated by one single nerve fibre, and this is the offshoot of a single giant nerve-cell situated at the cephalic end of the spinal cord." Quantitative experiments have shown that the shortest interval between the nervous impulses which the fish can discharge through the nerve cells, &c., is 1-10 sec., and that this interval is rapidly lengthened by fatigue to several seconds.

This susceptibility of the central nervous system to fatigue somewhat lessens the formidable character of the shock as a weapon for attack or defence, though this disadvantage, in Professor Gotch's opinion, is more than counterbalanced by the property of self-excitation possessed by the electric organ.

**New Meteorological Instruments.—(1) Halliwell's Self-recording Rain Gauge. (2) The Ether Sunshine Recorder.**

—Mr. J. Baxendell recently brought before the notice of the Royal Meteorological Society the new self-recording rain gauge which Mr. Halliwell has worked out for his requirements. Of the various self-recording rain gauges that have been previously invented Mr. Baxendell considers that none are worthy of the title of a standard gauge. In his opinion the ideal rain gauge should possess the following features :

1. The case should be constructed of substantial material, and the height of the rim above the ground should not exceed 18 inches.
2. The gauge should furnish pen records, identical in regard to total rainfall with the indications of standard Meteorological Office and Snowdon pattern rain gauges.
3. The instrument should give an absolutely continuous record, and not a step by step one.
4. There should be no perceptible friction in any of the working parts, or in the pen action ; and it should be possible to deduce from the charts the exact duration of appreciable rainfall.
5. The instrument should give a distinct and accurate record, on the one hand, of a very heavy tropical downpour, and, on the other, of a wet fog or misty drizzle, without in either case necessitating the use of a greater surface of paper than that of a sheet similar to the one required for the Dines Recording Pressure-tube Anemometer. It should be susceptible of construction also in a weekly form, with a smaller chart suitable for use of the general public.
6. The divisions on the chart should be rectangular and be uniform throughout.
7. It should not be necessary to employ electricity to obtain the record.
8. No tubes of any kind in the instrument should have a bore smaller than  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.
9. The working parts should require little or no attention, after once being properly placed in position at the station.
10. The gauge should contain apparatus for melting falling snow with a minimum amount of evaporation.
11. Everything should be as simple as possible, but each detail should be carefully thought out, and tested, and accurately finished.
12. The total cost of the gauge complete should not exceed £10.

The production of the new rain gauge is the result of exhaustive experiments, which have ranged over a period of nearly two years, and its details, which embody the twelve above stated distinctive features, are as follows :

The copper receiver is of the usual 8-inch Meteorological Office pattern, including the deep rim capped by a short brass ring ground at the top to a sharp edge. This is borne upon a cylinder of the same diameter, which covers a vertical Richard clock drum. The cylinder and clock spindle are fixed to the lid

of a rectangular galvanised iron well 9 inches square and 9 inches deep, and this is sunk in the ground so that the upper edge of the rim of the daily gauge is 18 inches, and that of the weekly one 15 inches above the ground. The cylinder is made so that it is easily detached from the instrument when the chart has to be changed. The rain is conveyed from the funnel to the well by means of a  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch brass pipe, when it falls into a partially tipping bucket, in one side of which is brazed a large bore syphon. The bucket is suspended on knife edges in a hanger. This, in turn, depends from a pulley-wheel by a snake-pattern chain fixed to the groove of the wheel, and coiled partly round it. The pulley-wheel is firmly attached to its axis, and behind it, fastened to the same axis, is a fairly large cam balanced by a false one. Behind this again is a second pulley-wheel. There is a line suspended from the part of the grooved periphery of the cam nearest to its axis, carrying a suitable weight. A chain upon the second pulley raises or lowers a rod on the top of which is fixed a frictionless pen. The rod simply beats against the pulley, and is kept vertical by being weighted at the bottom. The joint axis of the cam and two pulleys revolves on frictionless rollers.

Mr. Baxendell states that since the first device was made he has found that it is possible to suspend the rod carrying the pen and the bucket from the same pulley-wheel, and if this arrangement is finally adopted in the instruments it will add further to its simplicity.

The action of the water falling into the bucket causes the latter to descend. At the same time the pen is vertically reversed. When a half inch of rainfall has been collected in the case of the daily form of the instrument, or one inch in that of the weekly form, the bucket turns through a moderate angle, bringing the large syphon directly into action *full bore*. The quantity of return water from the short leg of the syphon at the end of the discharge is invariably the same, and therefore the zero is constant. The bucket automatically rights itself. "There is no possibility of the half-inch syphon dribbling, of its starting before the time, or of its continuing to carry off the water during a tropical downpour after the end of the proper discharge." Mr. Baxendell thinks that this combination of a moderately-tipping bucket and a large-bore syphon is found to be decidedly preferable to any tipping bucket alone. The latter arrangement necessitates the provision of some device to obviate the instantaneous return of the pen to zero, by which action the ink would be splashed out and the chart spoiled.

It is stated that the bucket of the daily gauge is emptied in

six seconds. For the weekly one a rather large syphon is used to secure the same result. The indications of the new instrument are identical with those of the Standard Meteorological Office and Snowdon rain gauges. The rain scale adopted for the daily gauge is 0.50 in. to five inches of paper; for the weekly, 1.00 in. of rain to three inches of paper. The charts are printed on waterproof paper.

The value of the new rain gauge was certainly endorsed at the meeting by the opinions of several leading meteorologists. For instance, Mr. R. H. Curtis considers that the rapidity of its discharge is an especially good feature. He gave an instructive example of the absence of this important quality in other instruments. At Plymouth, in August, 1898, during a heavy thunderstorm, the Beckley gauge, after recording the first two-tenths of an inch, went on indicating no rain, owing to the fact that the rain was falling faster than the syphon could discharge it from the float. It was pointed out that it would be impossible for such an accident to occur with the new rain gauge which has been described.

Mr. Dines' ether sunshine recorder would certainly appear to be another useful addition to meteorological measuring instruments. The instrument is electrical, and consists of two parts, one of which is exposed to the sun, and the other which registers the amount of sunshine. Owing to the electrical character of the instrument, this latter part can be placed at a distance from the former, and can be put indoors in a convenient position.

The first portion of the instrument consists of a bent glass tube, one end of which is blackened and upon which the sun shines. The tube is exhausted of air, but contains a small quantity of mercury and some ether. When the sun shines upon this tube the blackened end is warmed more than the other, the pressure of the ether vapour in this end is greater than in the other, and the mercury is driven from the blackened end. The tube is mounted on a metal holder, which can turn a short distance on pivots; the change of position of the mercury overbalances the holder, which falls over and is stopped by an electric contact piece against which it falls. When the sun ceases shining the mercury returns to its lowest position, and the holder also returns to its normal position.

The metal holder is in metallic connection with a source of electricity. When the tube is exposed to insulation the electric

battery is in connection with an insulated wire, which Mr. Dines calls the "sunshine wire," and when the sun is not shining the battery is in connection with another wire, called the "non-sunshine wire."

The two wires and return circuit in which the battery is placed run from the sunshine recorder to the registering portion of the apparatus, which is thus described by the inventor :

The registering apparatus consists of a clock drum mounted on a spiral ; the drum makes a complete turn each day, and also drops about one-sixth of an inch. It runs for a week, and requires fresh paper and winding only weekly. The registration is effected by a syphon pen on ordinary paper, the pen being on the paper when the sun is shining, and not on the paper when the sun is not shining. This is effected by two electro-magnets round which the "sunshine" and the "non-sunshine" wires are coiled. When the current passes through the sunshine wires and magnets the pen is pressed on the paper ; when the current goes through the other magnet the pen is withdrawn from the paper.

An ingenious arrangement has also been provided to economise battery power, and thus minimise the disadvantage of expense which electric mechanism so often involves.

The sunshine wire has a break in it, but this break is bridged over by the mechanism which carries the pen in such a manner that when the pen is not on the paper the break or gap in the wire is bridged over, but the bridge fails just before the pen reaches the paper. Thus on the sun beginning to shine a current passes round a sunshine magnet, and draws over the pen ; as soon, however, as the pen is over, the circuit is broken and the current ceases, but the pen remains in contact with the paper. A similar arrangement is introduced into the "non-sunshine" wire. Thus the battery simply shifts the pen, and has no time to run down ; and a single Leclanché cell, value about one shilling, will work the apparatus for two or three years.

The registration of the instrument is effected on ordinary paper, and only fifty-two sheets are required per year. Mr. Dines considers that this is a great advantage and economy. Another advantage is that the recorder itself can be placed on a pole. When it is once set up it requires no fresh attention. But perhaps the most important point in its favour is that it can be made to register any degree of sunshine. For instance, it can register "when the sun is low down or half hidden in a bank of cirrus cloud ; it will also register in summer, when the sun is high and almost or quite hidden by fog or low thin cloud."



**The Magnetic Perturbations of the Spectral Lines.**—Professor Thomas Preston's account of recent investigations in the subject of the magnetic perturbation of the spectral lines, and which is published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Institution" (1900), affords a striking example of the fact that the spectroscope is the most subtle and far-reaching method of research that the modern scientist possesses, and is modifying considerably many of our preconceived ideas concerning the ultimate construction of matter.

It was Michael Faraday who first discovered that there was magnetic action on light. He found that when a beam of plane polarised light is passed through a magnetic field in the direction of the lines of force, there is a twisting of the plane of polarisation of the light vibrations as they pass through the matter occupying the magnetic field. This twisting of the vibrations is called the "Faraday effect." Its magnitude depends upon the strength of the field of force, and upon the nature of the matter through which the light passes. The presence of matter in the field appears to be a necessity, as the effect is not observed in a vacuum, and its intensity is in proportion to the density of the matter which fills the field of force. It is therefore evident that the action of the magnetic field on the light vibrations is indirect, being exerted through the intervention of the matter occupying the field of force.

The rotation of the plane of polarisation of the beam of light is due to the fact that in the passage through the field of force vibrations from right to left do not travel forward as quickly as those which take place in the contrary direction. If the transmitted light is examined with a spectroscope it is found that the wave lengths are unaltered, but the amount of rotation of the plane of polarisation is different for waves of different lengths. The law which regulates this effect is that the rotation of the plane of polarisation varies inversely as the square of the wave length of the light used.

In Faraday's original experiment the source of light was placed outside the field of magnetic force, and the beam of light transmitted through the field. It occurred to Faraday to vary the experiment: to place the source of the light itself in the field of force, and observe whether the light it emitted was altered in character. But in this variation of the experiment he did not succeed. The first successful result obtained from such an experiment was the work of M. Fizee, in 1885. He placed a

gas flame impregnated with sodium vapour between the pole pieces of a powerful electro-magnet. The light emitted by this flame was passed through the slit of a highly dispersive spectro-scope. M. Fievez observed that the bright spectral lines were bordered by the action of the field of force on the flame. But this investigator failed to convince the world that he had made a discovery, probably because the soil for the reception of the truth was as yet unmaturing, and his discovery was added to that long list of discoveries which have either been lost or hidden for a while for the want of the essential receptiveness in the minds of the contemporaries of the discoverer. In 1897 Dr. P. Zeeman rediscovered the neglected effect, and succeeded in convincing the scientific world that the broadening of the spectrum bands was caused by the action of the magnetic field on the source of radiation.

Soon after Dr. Zeeman's discovery of the broadening of the spectral lines from the action of the magnetic field on a source of light, Professor Lorentz and Dr. Larmor made mathematical investigations in the subject, and came to the conclusion that not only should each spectrum line be broadened, but that it should also be split up into three lines, becoming, in fact, a triplet. They also determined that the constituent lines of this triplet must be each plane polarised, the central line of the triplet being polarised in one plane while the side lines are polarised in a perpendicular plane. This means that the vibrations of the light forming the central line are parallel to the lines of magnetic force, while the vibrations in the side lines are perpendicular to the lines of force. To prove that the broadened line is in reality composed of three lines overlapping one another, Dr. Zeeman made use of the theory that the constituents of the triplet must be plane polarised, and introducing a Nicol prism into the path of the light so turned the Nicol that the plane polarised edges were cut off, and the breadth of the line reduced to its normal amount. In this position of the Nicol, the outside lines of the triplet are extinguished and the central component alone remains. When the Nicol is turned through a right angle the central component of the triplet is extinguished and the side lines remain.

By increasing the strength of the magnetic field it has been found possible to completely separate the members of the triplets. But the fact of strengthening the magnetic field introduced new complications in the effects obtained: "while some of the

spectral lines are split up into triplets as indicated by theory, some, on the other hand, become resolved into sextets, or octets, or other complex types." To account for these at first unexpected appearances, it becomes necessary to form a mental picture of the motions of the ultimate element of matter, which modern science calls the ion, since it is supposed to carry an electric charge inherently associated with it, and whose orbit of motion when unperturbed is elliptic. Such a picture is thus graphically presented by the author :

Under ordinary circumstances this ion, revolving in its orbit with very great rapidity, will continue to do so peacefully, unless external forces come into play to disturb it. When external forces come into action the orbit ceases in general to be the same as before. The orbit becomes perturbed, and the external forces are termed perturbing forces. But you now ask, What is the character of the forces introduced by the magnetic field when the ion is moving through it? In answering this, we are to remember that the ion is supposed to be an element of matter charged with an electric charge—or, if you like, an electric charge possessing inertia. Now if a charged body moves through a magnetic field, it is an experimental fact that it experiences a force arising from the action of the magnetic field on the moving electric charge. The direction of this force is at right angles both to the direction of motion of the charged body and to the direction of the magnetic force in the field. The effect of this force in our case is to cause the elliptic orbits of the ions to rotate round the lines of magnetic force ; or to cause them to have a precessional motion instead of staying fixed in space, just as the perturbing forces of the planets in the solar system cause the earth's orbit to have a precessional motion. The angular velocity of this precessional motion is proportional to the strength of the magnetic field, and depends also, as you would expect, on the electric charges and the inertia associated with the ion. This precessional motion of the orbit, combined with the motion of the ion around the orbit, gives the whole motion of the ion in space ; and the result of this combined movement, of these two superposed frequencies—viz., the frequency of revolution of the ion in its orbit, and the frequency of rotation of the orbit around the lines of force—is that, in the case of the light radiated across the lines of force each period becomes associated with two new periods, or, in other words, each spectral line becomes a triplet. A partial analogue to this, which may to some extent help you to understand the introduction of the two new periods, occurs in the case of sound, although the two phenomena at basis are quite different. The analogue (or quasi analogue) is this : when two notes of given pitch, that is of given frequency of vibration, are sounded

together, their superposition produces two other notes of frequencies which are respectively the sum and the difference of the frequencies of the two given notes. These are known as the summation and the different tones of the two given notes. Corresponding to those are the two side lines of the magnetic triplet. The frequency of the vibration in one of these lines is the sum, and the frequency of the other is the difference of the two frequencies mentioned before—namely, the frequency of the revolution of the ion around its orbit, and the frequency of the precessional revolution of the orbit round the lines of force. The centre line of the triplet has the frequency of the original vibration, and this frequency disappears completely when the light is viewed along the lines of force—that is, through axial holes pierced in the pole pieces. In this direction, too, a further peculiarity arises, for not only does the triplet drop its central member, and become a doublet, but each member of this doublet is not plane polarised, as the members of the triplet are. They are each, on the contrary, circularly polarised—that is, the vibration is circular instead of being rectilinear.

But these actions, so vividly described in the above quotation, suppose that the ions are left free to describe their elliptic orbits undisturbed by other forces than the magnetic field. This freedom is, however, apparently not always realised in magnetic fields of great strength; for, as it has been pointed out above, all the spectral lines do not become triplets when viewed across the lines of force in a magnetic field, some becoming quartets, sextets, octets, being complex triplets derived from the normal triplet by a doublet or a triplet. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the ions which give rise to these complex forms are not free in their motion through the magnetic field, but are constrained by associating with each other in groups while they move in the field of force.

It is pointed out that the existence of perturbing forces is only to be expected in the assemblage of ions building up the incandescent matter of a source of light, and that the consequent upsetting of the theoretical formation of the triplets is only the natural sequence of the presence of such perturbing forces. It is impossible to say exactly what the perturbing forces are, for we do not know how the ions are associated in matter; but Professor Preston thinks that if we regard an ion as a charged element of matter describing an orbit it will be analogous to a closed circuit, or to a magnetic shell, and will be urged to set in some definite way in the magnetic field. In coming into this position there is a possibility of it oscillating

about the position of equilibrium, and thus introducing an oscillation into the precessional motion of the orbit which may double or treble the constituents of the pure precessional triplet.

According to the simple theory by which every spectral line, when viewed across the lines of force, should become a triplet in the magnetic field, the difference of the vibration frequency between the side lines of the triplet should be the same for all the spectral lines of a given substance ; but this simple law is very far from being fulfilled, for while some spectral lines show a considerable revolution in the magnetic field, other lines of nearly the same wave length in the same substance are hardly affected. The difference in the vibration frequency is confirmed by previous and rougher observations of the spectral lines. If we view the line spectrum of a given substance it is found that some of the lines are sharp, while others are nebulous and diffuse. Again, some are long, others short. The lines, in fact, exhibit characteristic differences which suggest that they are not all produced by the motion of a single unconstrained ion. Closer examination shows that the lines throw themselves into natural groups ; for example, in the case of the monad metals, sodium, potassium, &c., the spectral lines of each metal form three series of natural pairs ; and again, in the case of the diad group, cadmium, zinc, &c., the spectrum of each shows two series of natural triplets.

From these groupings of the lines of a given spectrum, it appears reasonable to suppose that the corresponding lines of these groups are produced by the same kind of ion, or, at least, from ions which are characterised by the same precessional frequency or spin of the ionic orbit through the lines of magnetic force in a given field.

By such a theory an atom is, therefore, not an ultimate particle of matter, but it is complex, consisting of several different ions, each of which give rise to certain spectral lines, and these ions are associated to form an atom in some peculiar way which stamps the substance with its own peculiar properties.

The differences which exist in the materials thus constituted arise more from the manner of association of the ions in the atom than from differences in the fundamental character of the ions which build up the atoms. It is suggested that all ions are fundamentally the same, and that differences in the precessional frequency of their orbit, or in the character of the vibrations they

emit, or in the spectral lines they produce, may arise from the manner they are associated together in the building up of atoms. Such a theory, if it is true, would indeed be a striking example of the greater simplifications that always attend progress in scientific knowledge.

In conclusion, Professor Preston points out the charm which such simplification casts over every investigator of Nature :

It is ever the desire of the human mind to see all the phenomena of Nature bound by one connecting chain, and the forging of this chain can be realised only gradually, and often great labour in the laboratories of science. From time to time the hope has been entertained that metals may be transmuted, and that one form may be converted into another ; and although this hope has been more generally nurtured by avarice and by ignorance rather than by knowledge, yet it is true that we never have had any sufficient reason for totally abandoning that hope: and even though it may never be realised, that in practice we shall be able to convert one substance into another, even though the philosopher's stone be for ever beyond our grasp, yet when the recent developments of science, especially in the region of spectrum analysis, are carefully considered, we have, I think, reasonable hope that the time is fast approaching when intimate relations, if not identities, will be seen to exist between forms of matter which have heretofore been considered as quite distinct. Important spectroscopic information pointing in this same direction has been gleaned through a long series of observations by Sir Norman Lockyer on the spectra of the fixed stars, and on the different spectra yielded by the same substance at different temperatures. These observations lend some support to the idea, so long entertained merely as a speculation, that all the various kinds of matter, all the various so-called chemical elements, may be built up in some way of the same fundamental substance; and it is probable that this protyle theory will in one form or another continue to haunt the domains of scientific thought, and remain a useful and important factor in our progress.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**The Philippine Archipelago.**—A complete picture of the social, moral, and industrial condition of the Philippine Archipelago is contained in the valuable volume of Mr. Frederick Sawyer ("The Inhabitants of the Philippines." London: Sampson Low & Co. 1900). When we remember that the area of the Archipelago is not much less than that of the United Kingdom, that it numbers some 1,200 separate islands, and that some of them have probably never been visited by a white man, we can appreciate the research represented by a work giving a detailed account of the history, ethnography, and varieties of soil and climate of the principal units, together with a full history of Spanish rule, of the insurrection against it, and of the American operations, first against the Spaniards and secondly against the natives.

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**Principal Native Tribes.**—The avowed purpose of the book is to correct what the writer believes to be the unduly unfavourable estimate of the natives given by most English writers. On what widely differing data such estimates may be founded, can be imagined from the fact that there are here fifty-seven separate tribes classified and described in detail. The human substratum in the Philippines consists of Negritos, negroid dwarfs of sooty black colour, with woolly hair, thick lips, and flat noses. The men are about four feet eight inches in height, the women some two inches shorter. They belong to a race which existed over a vast area, still lingering in diminished numbers in Southern India, in the mountains of Ceylon, and in the Andaman Islands, as well as in the Malay Peninsula, where they are called Semang. Their low stature, and a language consisting largely of clicks and grunts, seem to assimilate them to the dwarfs of Central Africa and to the Bushmen of the south of that continent, with whom the use of the bow and arrow is another trait in common. Driven from the littoral plains into the woods and mountains, they lead a wandering life of irre-



claimable savagery. Only the patient labour of the Jesuits has succeeded in winning some few of those of the island of Mindanao to settle in villages and accept their teaching. Of later arrival in the Philippines were the Tagals, classed as the fourth great Malay, tribe who number a million and a half, and are the chief inhabitants of the large island of Luzon, with an area of 42,000 square miles, considerably more than that of Ireland. These are the "Filipinos" *par excellence*, the civilised race forming the backbone of the population of one group of the Islands. They wrote their language in Arabic characters before the Spanish Conquest, wear civilised clothing, are very cleanly in their houses and persons, and are intelligent in all branches of learning, with a special aptitude for music. They are industrious agriculturists, most skilful fishermen, and the best sailors in the East. They have, on the other hand, the craving for excitement fatally transmitted with Malay blood, and find their chief recreations in gaming and cock-fighting, prolific parents of crime. Though devout Christians, they still retain many superstitious practices, but this may be said of the ignorant in all countries.

As clerks and store-keepers [says the author] I found the Tagals honest, assiduous, and well-behaved. As draughtsmen they were fairly skilful in drawing from hand sketches, and excelled in copying or tracing, but were quite untrustworthy in taking out quantities and computing. Some of them could write beautiful headings or design ornamental title-pages. I have by me some of their work that could not be done better even in Germany or France. But the more skilful they were the more irregular was their attendance, and the more they had learned the worse they behaved.

As domestic servants he found them so satisfactory, that he kept many of them in his service during his stay of many years, and brought one to England in charge of his sons.

The Visayas, occupying the group of islands of that name, are the most numerous, and after the Tagals, the most important race in the Philippines. Though also of Malay origin, of a type more akin to the natives of Borneo than to those of the Peninsula, there is no solidarity of feeling between the two races, who mutually regard each other as foreigners. The Visayas were formerly called *Pintados*, from their habit at the time of the conquest of painting or tattooing themselves with blue. They were then, however, partially civilised, with a society organised on a sort of feudal system. They seem to be

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of a lower type than the Tagals, are less cleanly and hospitable, and manufacture and consume large quantities of strong drink. A Recollet friar told the author that though professing and practising Christianity, they have a secret heathen organisation, and retire to the woods or caves for a triennial festival, of which all he could tell was that the sacrifice of pigs formed part of the rites. Mr. Sawyer thinks that a good government would find in the Visayas valuable and improvable subjects.

**Heathen Tribes.**—Of the unsubdued heathen tribes, the Igorrotes, highlanders of Northern Luzon, are the most interesting. They live in villages of 300 to 400 souls, under the local chiefs, and are excellent agriculturists; plough the lowlands with buffaloes for the culture of rice, terrace the hillsides, and irrigate them by rude wooden aqueducts. They have remarkable skill as miners and metallurgists, using charcoal as fuel for their forges. They are strict monogamists, and hold the marriage tie as sacred, having a much higher standard of domestic morality than the Malay Tagals and Visayas. There are many Christian villages converted by the friars, but the bulk of the tribe are idolaters, worshipping idols called "Anitos."

**Work of the Religious Orders.**—Mr. Sawyer gives a splendid picture of the work of the religious orders in the Philippines, beginning with the Augustinians, who alone founded over 240 towns, including Manila and Cebu. Until 1828 the friars governed the Islands without any permanent Spanish garrison, and from 1828 to 1883 with the help of only 1,500 artillerymen. He asks what English, French, or Dutch colony, with a native population, can show a record to compare with theirs. He writes an enthusiastic encomium on the work of the Jesuits in the island of Mindanao, and though not a Catholic, declares them to be his ideal of Christian missionaries. The unpopularity of the other orders he ascribes to their acquisition of large estates, and consequent collision with the natives on the subject of rent and other vexed questions. But the insurrection in the Philippines and its anti-clerical character are distinctly traceable in his pages to the introduction of Freemasonry, and its fruitfulness as the parent of other secret societies. The first Masonic Lodge was opened in 1860, and it threw off as an offshoot the "Liga Filipina," mainly formed

of its members. On its model was formed the native secret society of the "Katipunan," recruited among the poorest classes "to redeem the Philippines from their tyrants, the friars, and found a Communistic republic." This society is declared to have been "the most potent factor in the insurrection of 1899."

**Canadian Polar Expedition.**—Captain Bernier, of Quebec, explained to the Royal Colonial Institute, on January 17th, his plan for exploring the unknown area of the Arctic basin, and reaching the highest latitudes, possibly the Pole itself. With a specially built vessel of about 300 tons register, a picked crew, and a party of scientific men, he would sail from Victoria or Vancouver, pass through Behring Strait in the month of July, follow the Siberian coast, and enter the ice between 165 and 170 degrees, as far east as its condition would permit. Pushing north in August and September, he would drop buoys at intervals to test the ice drift, and send off monthly balloons with reports of observations. Dog sledges would furnish the means of ice travelling, and in the second spring and summer two routes would be followed, both marked at intervals by numbered hollow staves filled with condensed provisions and milk, communication meantime being maintained with the ship by wireless telegraphy and gun signals. Several boats would be taken, one in sections in case of the loss of the ship, which, however, with ordinary good fortune, would be always available to fall back upon. Captain Bernier concludes from the height and length of Greenland, that the deep tongue of ocean in the Polar basin corresponds in length as it does in height to the Arctic continent; and in his view, the sooner a ship can get into deep water the sooner she will get across the Polar basin into the Atlantic. Although the expedition follows on the same lines as that of the ill-fated *Jeannette*, its leader hopes that it may have better success, as he states that there are now a greater number of openings into the Polar basin than in past years, owing to changed climatic conditions. According to his calculation, 150 days should suffice to reach the Pole from Franz Josef Land, by leaving which when the sun rises, and allowing 180 days of poleward travel as a margin for contingencies, he would still have ten days of light left to travel towards Spitzbergen before establishing himself in winter quarters on the ice. Resuming his journey in the following spring, he hopes to reach Spitzbergen in early summer, before

the breaking up of the ice, and thence make his way back to Europe. He attaches great importance to the Marconi system as a means of communicating with his base, which shows in how many various ways the use of wireless telegraphy may be of benefit to science.

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**African Waterways.**—The utilisation of the African rivers for purposes of communication has long been a problem, owing to the breach of continuity between the upper and lower reaches in the abrupt descent from the interior plateau to the littoral plains. Major Gibbons made an interesting contribution to the discussion of this question, in an address to a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on "The Nile and Zambesi Systems as Waterways," delivered on January 15th. Beginning with the more southern stream, he pointed out that though in point of length it ranks only fourth among African rivers, yet taken in conjunction with its affluent, the Lungwebungu, it stretches nearly three quarters of the way across the continent, with a series of navigable reaches of which those with a length of 100 miles and upwards aggregate nearly 4,000 miles, while many other tributaries can also be made practicable for navigation at a much less cost than that of railway construction on the same scale. He divides the Zambesi into three sections, the first, or lowest, extending from the mouth to the Kebrabasa Rapids, a distance of 400 miles; the Middle Zambesi, from above those Rapids to the Victoria Falls, 900 miles higher up; and the Upper Zambesi, from the Falls to the source, some 600 or 700 miles further inland. These sections must be regarded as separate navigable reaches, inaccessible the one from the other. Major Gibbons accompanied an expedition in a steam launch in October, 1898, which successfully navigated the Middle Zambesi from above the Rapids at Kebrabasa for 800 miles, to the Molele Rapids, the first of a series extending to the Victoria Falls, and forming on this level the limit of navigation. The route of the Trans-African Railway has been diverted so as to strike the Zambesi below the Molele Rapids, thus giving access to the navigable water of its middle course. It will also intersect one of its tributaries, the Kafukwe, forty miles above its confluence with the main stream, at a point where it will yield 200 miles of navigation. Of the navigation of the Upper Zambesi, which must be considered as a separate system, no details are given; but it is stated that another tributary, the

Kwito, could be so engineered as to give 1,000 miles of navigable water.

As regards the Nile basin, there is throughout its area a remarkable absence of navigable tributaries, although the Blue Nile and the Sobat have been traversed for some distance by gunboats. The utilisation of the main stream for tapping the magnificent plateau lying to the east of Lake Albert, including the Uganda Protectorate and adjacent regions, was therefore mainly dwelt on by the traveller. The cost of portage, at present ruinously high, would be diminished by turning to account the waters of the Nile for the transport of provisions and stores to Uganda, Unyoro, and Toru. Although Lake Victoria must be regarded as an enclave not accessible to outer navigation, Lake Albert Edward, the second southern source of the Nile, is connected with Lake Albert by the Semliki, declared by a Belgian traveller to be navigable with one short break. From Lake Albert, a large steamer can pass to the Dufie Rapids, an obstruction easily negotiable by locks and weirs. Its removal would afford a clear run to the Sixth Cataract below Khartoum, once the temporary grass barrier on the Upper Nile is cleared away.

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**Inter-oceanic Routes.**—A letter under the above heading, published in the *Times* of January 11th, announces the coming completion of an alternate route to that of the proposed ship canal through the Central American Isthmus. An English firm, to which the writer belongs, has leased for fifty years from the Mexican Government the railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, from Coatzacoalcos, on the Gulf of Mexico, to Salina Cruz, on the Pacific coast. The distance from ocean to ocean is but 190 miles, and the railway, which under existing circumstances merely serves local purposes, would doubtless have been used for trans-continental traffic, save for the fatal drawback of absence of accommodation for shipping at either end. This is now about to be supplied by the construction of artificial harbours with quays and wharves fitted with modern appliances for loading and discharging cargo, while the railway will be practically reconstructed so as to enable it to carry the heavy traffic expected. These works, it is hoped, will be completed within three or four years, long before a ship canal can be open for traffic, and by being first in the field the new route may intercept some of the trans-isthmian trade. The present

Panama Railway transports about 300,000 tons a year, but under very unfavourable conditions and at rates that are almost prohibitive. The new company's charge of from 10s. to 12s. per ton will cover all harbour dues, tolls, and transport, from sea to sea, but apparently not the cost of loading and discharging. In actual mileage the Tehuantepec route would have an advantage over that of any ship canal, the distance between New York and San Francisco being less by 700 miles than that by the Nicaragua Canal, and by 1,100 than that by the Panama Isthmus. From New Orleans to the Golden Gate the advantage is still greater, amounting to 1,600 miles over the Panama route. Against this curtailment of distance, there is, of course, the heavy set-off of transshipment, supposing an inter-oceanic canal to be an actual going concern at fairly reasonable rates. In the meantime the new route, if successfully completed, may capture some of the traffic of the existing trans-continental railways. It will be in British hands, but will have no strategic importance, as the neutrality of Mexico would prevent its use for warlike purposes, unless in the unlikely case of that Republic being itself a belligerent. The opening will in any case, according to the opinion of authorities on the spot, revolutionise the foreign trade of Mexico.

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**Consular Report on Mexico.**—The British Consul at Vera Cruz gives on the whole a very hopeful picture of the progress of Mexico since 1898. The finances have been placed on a sound basis, commerce flourishes, and foreign capital has flowed in. The rise in the value of silver during recent months has, however, acted as a check on commercial prosperity; and owing to this cause, together with the enhanced prices of fuel and raw material in Orizaba, one of the chief cotton-manufacturing districts, the factories have ceased work, and are left with vast stocks on hand. The labour question is also becoming a difficult one, as wages have risen with the increase of demand, and the supply is insufficient. The importation of Chinese has been tried, but is rendered ineffectual by the absence of means of enforcing foreign labour contracts. The report suggests that the organisation of a direct steamer service between Vera Cruz and a port in the South of England, avoiding the quarantine ports and completing the voyage in eighteen days, would secure a large proportion of the passenger traffic with Europe, as well as sufficient homeward freight. The quarantine

regulations at United States ports are a cause of delay and vexation, and shipowners would, in the Consul's view, do well to separate the Mexican trade from the Liverpool cotton trade.

**Dr. Sven Hedin in Central Asia.**—Should the indomitable Swedish traveller have successfully carried out his programme, he would have ere this entered on the final stage of his second set of explorations, by crossing Tibet to the sources of the Indus, and thence viâ India to Europe. According to the news received from him, he had in the previous stages of his journey achieved results of considerable interest, a *résumé* of which was communicated to the *Times* of January 17th. Kashgar, which he reached on September 1st, 1899, was his starting-point, and he proceeded with a small part of his caravan, the bulk of which was to meet him by another route, for Lailik, on the Yarkand River, proposing to make that stream his highway to his immediate objective, the Lob Nor. A five days' overland journey brought him to Lailik, where he rigged up a ferry-boat for his voyage down the river, in floating along which he spent the next three months, with four ferry-men as his crew. The only hindrance to navigation occurred at a point where the river had been tapped for irrigation canals, and here it was necessary to enlist the services of one hundred natives to drag the boat over the shallows. This voyage he describes as of extraordinary interest, as the series of rivers which skirt the great Takla-Makan Desert on the north wind in all directions and afford in some places glimpses of picturesque scenery. Their course was mapped with the most minute accuracy, many photographs were taken, and interesting places on the banks visited. After meeting his caravan at Yangi-kul, and establishing a winter camp there, he crossed the desert to Cherchen with four men and seven camels. The journey lasted 20 days, and the only mishap was the loss of one camel. Returning by another route, he mapped a large area of new country during an absence of sixty-six days. In March, 1900, he started on another trip, following the southern slopes of the Kuruk-Tagh range and the dry bed of the Kum Daria or "sand river," which brought him to an ancient lake-bed with deposits of salt, the remains of dead trees, and sedge. The ruins of an old town, with interesting sculptures and traces of a road, showed that the desiccation of the basin and its outlet had depopulated a once inhabited area. The variability of the hydrographic conditions was further illustrated



by the discovery of a large lake formed by a new and hitherto unknown arm of the Tarim River, flowing eastward in the former course of the Shirga. These explorations tend to confirm his hypothesis of the difference in position between the modern Lob Nor and the older sheet of water called by that name. His theory was that there were two separate lakes or lake systems, which waxed and waned alternately, the one filling as the other dried up. The result of his present investigations goes to show that there are not two, but an indefinite number of these lake groups in the region east of the Takla-Makan. A chain of these were explored by him in a further voyage in his ferry-boat down the Karim River, from which they are fed, and by which he travelled to near its entrance into the Kara Koshun, identified by him with Prjevalsky's Lob Nor.

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**Journey through Northern Tibet.**—After establishing a permanent camp in a new and more advanced position, he made a three months' tour of Northern Tibet from July to October, 1899, securing results in his view surpassing in interest those of his previous journey. On his route of nearly a thousand miles, he crossed those taken by Rockhill, Carey, Wellby, and Bonvalot, reaching the neighbourhood of the Upper Yangtse as his furthest point in the south-east. The cold experienced was intense, causing much suffering as well as the loss of several of the animals and one man. High winds with squalls of rain or snow were frequent, and the thermometer once registered as much as 28 degrees of frost. So desolate was the region traversed, that for eighty-four days not a human being was met. A mass of observations was accumulated and the bearings of many peaks were ascertained. Of the wild animals seen, antelopes, bears, wild sheep, and goats were the most numerous. Before starting on his final journey to the sources of the Indus on his homeward route, he intended to make a further exploration of the interesting Lob Nor region, and to solve, if possible, some of the problems it presents. As this was to be in the winter months, the freezing of the Kara Koshun and its affluents was expected to afford facilities for a more regular hydrographical survey of its basin. An escort of four Cossacks was provided for Dr. Hedin by the Tsar, and he was able to teach one of them to take meteorological and other observations, so that a record was kept at his permanent camps during his own absence from them.

## Notices of Books.

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**Thoughts for All Times.** By the Right Rev. Mgr. JOHN S. VAUGHAN. Fifth Edition, revised and altered. 8vo. Pp. 416. London: R. & T. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster Row. 1900.

CARDINAL GIBBONS, in his Introduction to the fourth edition of this volume, writes: "We wish this most excellent work 'God speed' in its great mission of drawing souls to God. We should be glad to see a copy of it in every household in the land."

The well-merited popularity of the book is attested by the number of editions through which it has run. The copy before us announces that a fifth edition, revised and altered, has just been issued, and we gladly contribute our mite of praise, and express our sincere wish that this edition may speedily meet with the success that has attended former issues. The book is graced by an introductory letter by Cardinal Gibbons, and an able Preface by his Lordship the Bishop of Newport.

It is divided into three parts. The first part consists of six essays on "The Nature and Attributes of the Godhead." Doctrines such as these, which the human intellect can grasp only in an analogical way, find a powerful exponent in the writer of these essays. He "finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good (shall I say 'God') in everything."

The second and third parts treat of various fundamental truths of faith, and one or two moral questions of great and immediate interest. These are presented to the reader with a perfect wealth of illustration and exemplification, which render the exposition at once instructive and attractive. There are essays on "The Blessed Sacrament," on "Purgatory," on "Grace," on "Faith," on "Man, His Life and Death." The last essay is called "Theology and Vivisection," and is followed by a note on "The Rights of Animals."

E. G.

**The Sermon on the Mount.** By JACQUES BÉNIGNE BOSSUET, Bishop of Meaux. Translated by F. M. CAPES, from the "Meditations on the Gospels." London (39, Paternoster Row), New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 144.

THE name and fame of Bossuet, the "Eagle of Meaux," have gone forth into every part of the civilised world. He is justly ranked among the most profound scholars and the most brilliant orators of France, and we may add of Europe. He is generally known by these two titles. The volume, however, before us, a translation by F. M. Capes of a section of Bossuet's "Meditations on the Gospels," presents him to us under an aspect with which comparatively few are familiar.

Bossuet was passionately fond of the Sacred Scriptures, and he has given to us the fruits of his incessant study and pious meditations on God's Word in two works, entitled "*Elévations sur les Mystères*" and "*Méditations sur l'Evangile*." In these two works the hidden life of this great man's soul is made manifest.

The adulation of kings and courtiers disturbed not the inward peace and tranquillity which he enjoyed. The perusal of his meditations on the Sermon on the Mount is convincing evidence of this. Only the man of prayer could have penetrated so deeply into the meaning of that divine discourse. Only one who loved and practised the virtues which it inculcates could have exhorted others thereto with such holy fervour.

The translator has done honour to the memory of the great Bishop, and has conferred a great benefit on the English reading public in thus acquainting them with the deep religious spirit that animated the orator, and caused him to exert all his powers for God's honour and glory and not his own. For this purpose the meditations on the Sermon on the Mount were most happily chosen. The vigour and beauty of the original have suffered but little in the excellent rendering into English.

E. G.

**Happy Suffering.** By FRANÇOIS COPPÉE. Translated by CATHERINE M. WELBY, with Introduction by the Rev. W. H. HUTTON, B.D. London: Rivingtons, 34, King Street, Covent Garden. 1900. Pp. 205.

**H**APPY suffering! The votaries of pleasure will, in all probability, deem the title of this volume a paradox.

Indeed, the author himself, on his own confession, would once have incredulously smiled at it as a wild extravagance. In the essay on "The River," he most beautifully likens the innocence of his youth to the limpid waters of a tiny spring, and his loss of that innocence by unchecked pursuit of the world's pleasures, to the same spring swollen to a mighty river rolling slowly to the sea, its waters polluted by the refuse of towns through which they have passed, and by the foul streams that have emptied themselves therein. He has been awakened to all this, he has been disillusioned with regard to the all-sufficiency of the pleasures of earth by salutary suffering.

The book of essays, to which he has given the title of "Happy Suffering," represents the awakening to a sense of lost innocence and happiness; the longing to be restored to them; the joy of receiving them as the fruit of reconciliation with God by deep contrition and humble confession; the cheerful readiness to submit to a lingering sickness unto death, in satisfaction for a sinful neglect of God and religion, in the all-absorbing quest of pleasure.

The essays first appeared as articles in a newspaper. They were the strong expression of strong personal feeling. They brought comfort and hope to many an aching, wearied heart. The great success which attended them encouraged their author to gather them together and issue them in book form.

The translator, by rendering them into English, has put a very valuable book within the reach of English readers. She has had no easy task. Bursts of French feeling are so difficult to express in our colder Northern tongue. Great praise is due to her for having undertaken the task, and for the care with which that task has been executed.

E. G.

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**Pourquoi Je me suis fait Congreganiste? Confession et Communion.** Par le R. P. ED. HAMON, S.J. Paris: Téqui. 1900. Pp. 237.

**T**HIS is a devout and serviceable book intended to promote the interests of the Congregation of the Children of Mary. It was inspired by St. Alphonsus' advice:

If a secular asks me what he should do to save his soul, I know nothing more useful and more salutary to counsel him

than to join the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin. The Congregation is a refuge, and in it men are taught the best means of securing eternal salvation.

In a series of addresses this advice is developed ; the spirit which should permeate those who join the Congregation is clearly stated, and the ordinary objections are more or less satisfactorily disposed of.

As to the second part, "Confession and Communion," no apparent relation to the first pamphlet is traceable. But it will be found useful to many by placing before them solutions to the difficulties which are not unusually urged against the frequentation of the Sacraments.

X. Y.

**De Jure et Justitia Dissertationes.** Auctore A. POTTIER.

Leodii : R. Ancion, 30, Rue des Premontres. 1900. Price 2 fr.

**Y**IELDING to the repeated demands of pupils and friends, the Professor of Moral Theology in the Seminary of Liege gives to the world the fruit of his lectures on Right and Justice during a period of eleven years.

Beyond a fairly exhaustive analysis of the famous Encyclical, "Novarum Rerum," there is nothing of a remarkable nature in these disquisitions. In fact, the author scarcely carries out the programme he sets before himself : we read, "propositum etiam fuit . . . eas inquirere solutiones quae praesentibus adjunctis opportune aptentur," &c. (p. 208). Speaking of that very important factor in strikes, the coercing of what are vulgarly known as blacklegs, he asks, "Is it lawful for those who are justified in leaving off work to compel others who wish to continue working to strike?" After sundry remarks, which sufficiently indicate that his own leanings are decidedly in favour of the affirmative answer, he winds up by saying : "Quaestionem hanc solvere non vacat difficultate et sapientioribus solvenda videtur opportune dimittenda."

F. A.

**La Nouvelle Legislation de l'Index.** Par M. l'Abbé BOUDINHON.

Paris : Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette. Pp. 396. Price 4.50 fr.

**W**HAT the Constitution "Apostolicae Sedis" did in the case of ecclesiastical censures, in accommodating them to present-day requirements, by moderating the severity of

some of them, maintaining others, and setting up new ones, has been effected in another department by the Papal enactment, "Officiorum et Munerum." As the former has had its distinguished array of commentators so with the latter; and now, in company with Mgr. Gennari, Pennachi, and Vermeersch, to mention a few of the best known, a professor of the Catholic Institute of Paris, l'Abbé Boudinhon, has undertaken the task of expounding its meaning. It is true he draws largely on the labours of others, but, this notwithstanding, his animadversions and conclusions are sufficiently characteristic to secure for his work a cordial welcome.

In a preliminary chapter on the history of the Index he makes clear the tactfulness displayed by the Church in safeguarding the interests of its members, and, what is more, he triumphantly vindicates the necessity of this much abused Congregation.

He then proceeds to explain the nature of that censorship which precedes and regulates the prohibition of books, which censorship he rightly defends as a well-grounded judgment as to the orthodoxy of certain writings, or as to their conformity with those rules which concern their publication. This definition enables us to understand why certain visions, indulgences, leaflets, &c., have fallen under the ban, a long list of which he sets before us.

Further on he contrasts the old legislation with the new, that we may understand why the readjustment was called for.

It will come as a surprise to many, that Gardellini does not enjoy the unique position usually accorded to it as being the only source of the Congregation of Rites, authentic decrees. On p. 223 we read: "Elle est cependant loin d'être complète et l'on peut trouver dans les *Analecta* et dans la collection de Mgr. Barbier de Montault (Paris. Repos. 1869, 8 vols. in 12) bien des décisions qui ne sont pas dans Gardellini."

Finally, the author is not unmindful of the manner in which the recent Constitution affects English-speaking countries. He refers to the affirmative answer given on May 23rd, 1898, to the question: "Utrum dicta constitutio vim obligatorium habeat pro regionibus britannici idiomatis qua tacita dispensatione frui quidam arbitrantur?" But he adds that a petition having been addressed to Rome, the most ample powers were granted to the English Episcopate to dispense on account of the peculiar circumstances of the country.

X. Y.

**Vers l'Eternité.** Par M. l'Abbé POULIN. Deuxième édition. Paris: Téqui, 29, Rue du Tournon. 1900. 8vo, pp. 421.

**I**N his Preface the eloquent Abbé promises to write a book for those who are downcast and wearied by the innumerable struggles which beset the road to heaven. His heart rejoices at the thought, "What a grand thing it is to do good in this sad world, to give back courage to a soul that has lost it, to keep up the sense of duty in those inclined to give way amid spiritual dryness, to calm the troubled heart!" His holy enthusiasm overflows into the heart of his reader, for Abbé Poulin has admirably fulfilled his promise. Each of his chapters is like an oasis in the desert, where the weary traveller is permitted to rest in the shade of some glorious promise, and where the heart receives fresh light, and a greater desire and courage to pursue the road to eternity. The language is beautiful and attractive, and the book may be highly recommended to all who think of heaven, who desire to spend an hour alone with our Divine Lord, or to impart help and strength to others in sermons or conferences.

D. E. F.

**Thesaurus Philosophiae Thomisticae.** G. BULLIAT. Nannetis apud Lanoe Mazeau, 2, Via dicta Saint Pierre. Pp. 704.

**T**HERE are many text-books of philosophy which set forth, with greater or less trustworthiness, the teaching of St. Thomas. But here we have a philosophical text-book which sets forth the teaching of St. Thomas in St. Thomas' own words. The "Thesaurus" covers the entire field of philosophy. It contains complete treatises on Logic, Ontology, Cosmology, Psychology, Natural Theology, and Ethics. But, though the words are St. Thomas', the arrangement is the work of Dr. Bulliat. With skill and care Dr. Bulliat has selected passages from the various writings of St. Thomas, and knit them together into perfect method and order. The "Summa Theologica" and the "Summa Contra Gentiles" furnish, no doubt, a large proportion of the passages selected. Yet there are numberless passages culled from the less known and less accessible works of St. Thomas; and throughout, as has been said, the words are St. Thomas' own. All that we are free to criticise, then, is the arrangement, and that appears to us to be admirable. We believe that Catholic students of philosophy will attach great value to the "Thesaurus."

W. L. G.



**Summa Theologica ad modum Commentarii in Aquinatis**

Summam praesentis aevi studiis aptatam, auctori LAURENTIO JANSSENS, S.T.D. Tomus III. Tractatus de Deo Trino. Friburgi Brisgoviae : Sumptibus Herder. 1900. Pp. 899.

**D**R. JANSSENS would seem to possess all the qualifications needed to form a good commentator on St. Thomas.

He is thoroughly steeped in scholastic learning : he has the art of writing intelligibly on the abstrusest subjects, and his acquaintance with modern theological literature is very wide indeed. The extent of Dr. Janssens' reading is, in truth, remarkable. And whatever he reads he presses into service. Even such information as is provided by the daily papers is laid under contribution. Who would expect to find mention of the present German Emperor, and the Negus Menelik, and Messrs. Krueger and Steyn, in an elaborate treatise on the Trinity? Yet our author finds a purpose for them. When proving that the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity has always been regarded, and to this day is still regarded, as the *tessera fidei* by all Christian nations, Dr. Janssens writes :

Quin et hisce temporibus, praeter exemplum Germanorum Caesaris superius allatum, invocato mysterio augustissimo, pacem post Aduensem victoriam init Negus Menelik, ad idemque dogma—factum refero, jura luctae non perpendo—ante supremas pugnas appellant pacis cupidi Krueger et Steyn.

We recommend this excellent commentary very strongly to our readers. We invite their special attention to the exhaustive dissertation on the question of the demonstrability, on scientific grounds, of the authenticity of the famous Johannine text. We trust that Dr. Janssens, more fortunate in this respect than Cardinal Satolli, with whose erudite commentary his own suggests a comparison, may enjoy sufficient leisure to carry to a conclusion the great work on which he is now engaged with such signal success.

W. L. G.

**The Soldier of Christ : or, Talks before Confirmation.** By

Mother MARY LOYOLA, of the Bar Convent, York.  
London : Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati,  
Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1900. Pp. 420.

**M**OTHER LOYOLA has already won a considerable name for herself as an attractive writer on devotional and doctrinal matters. Her reputation will be, we think,

increased by this latest production of her busy pen. The following passage, chosen almost at random, may serve to illustrate our author's style, and her power of investing her subject with interest :

Perhaps there came into our baby hands, at one time or another, a box labelled "Soldiers." The military were wrapped up in cotton wool, and needed careful handling. They were not over steady on their legs, and were never meant to see fire. To afford amusement to babies was their only end and object. Are *we* content to turn out sham cotton-wool soldiers such as these, fit for nothing but to be the devil's playthings, serving for his diversion? Is it for this that our appointments have been so handsomely provided? (p. 233).

The Christian Doctrine class would surely be, of all classes, the most popular were religious instruction usually conveyed as Mother Loyola conveys it. We trust that Mother Loyola has many more volumes of this kind in the making.

W. L. G.

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**Exposition of Christian Doctrine.** By a SEMINARY PROFESSOR.  
Part III. — Worship. Philadelphia, Pa. : John Joseph McVey. 1900. Pp. 833.

IF the two preceding volumes of this course of religious instruction are as valuable as this third and completing volume, then may we securely say that this work deserves to rank amongst the best of its kind. It does not, indeed, go very fully into the subjects of which it treats; its range is too extensive to permit of that; but it says quite as much as the faithful can carry away, and it says that in the simplest and plainest manner, so that no one that listened could fail to understand. It follows throughout the method of question and answer, which we believe to be the best of all methods for instructions of this kind. The question, in each case, arouses curiosity, and excites attention for the answer that is to follow. The subjects treated in this volume are Grace, Prayer, the Sacraments, and the Liturgy. Under the last head are discussed Churches, Liturgical Objects, Liturgical Vestments, the Ceremonies of the Mass, the Offices of the Church, Feast Days, Devotions, and Confraternities. Surely there is much here to instruct and interest the faithful. To place these subjects before them in the simple, yet interesting, manner in which they are handled in this volume must lead to an increased appreciation

of religion. If people weary of sermons, as, unfortunately, they sometimes do, may not the reason be that sermons are too exclusively of a hortatory character? Let the sermons, occasionally at least, be more didactic. Place before the people the beauty of their Catholic faith; instruct them in the marvellous symbolism of the rites of the Church, and the faithful will gladly listen. The "Exposition of Christian Doctrine" will prove of great service in an attempt of this kind.

W. L. G.

**Les Infiltrations Protestantes et le Clergé Français.** Par le R. P. J. FONTAINE, S.J. Paris: Victor Retaux. 1901. Pp. 288.

IN this little work Père Fontaine makes a timely exposure of the dangerous, not to say heretical, tendencies which some well-known French Catholic exegetists have been lately developing, under the influence of the Protestant schools of Bible criticism.

Some twenty years ago ecclesiastical studies in France received a great impulse, and, among the rest, the science of exegesis began to be cultivated assiduously. But there was practically no school of Catholic exegesis in France at that time, and so the originators of the movement were led to examine the productions of the theological schools of the Protestant universities of Germany and England. At these sources, unfortunately, some of the Catholic exegetists seem to have "drunk not wisely, but too well," and, *par consequence*, to have imbibed many Protestant and rationalistic ideas.

The results are painfully evident in the astounding articles which have appeared from time to time lately in some of the leading Catholic religious reviews in France; and it is no wonder that the Pope felt himself obliged to sound a note of warning in his Encyclical of September 8th, 1899.

To realise the extent of the evil our readers should consult Father Fontaine's work. We shall content ourselves with citing a few instances here.

The Protestant spirit has made itself distinctly felt in Catholic seminaries in France in the manner of discussing vital questions which, like that of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, are intimately associated with the question of the inspiration and veracity of Holy Scripture—as the Encyclical points out.

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In philosophy, the influence of Kantian subjectivity has been allowed to weaken the traditional metaphysical arguments for the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the reality of the exterior world—which some of our advanced Catholic philosophers seem to consider as not proven and not provable by reason.

Worse still, at least our Catholic writers would seem to maintain that the Bible itself contains no complete revelation of the immortality of the soul, and its necessary consequences (the punishments and rewards of a future life), unless it be in the later books written after the Babylonian Captivity. The plain teaching of Genesis counts for nothing.

A learned Catholic conceded that the Church knew of no confession in the first few centuries—except public confession—which, however, in opposition to Dr. Lea, he allows to have been followed by sacramental absolution. But, as only notorious mortal sins (murder, adultery, incest, &c.) were thus confessed, it would follow, in flat contradiction to the Council of Trent, that there was no obligation to confess other less flagrant mortal sins.

Some of these advanced exegetists would seem to subscribe to the theory of the Protestant school, that neither in the Old Testament nor in the Synoptic Gospels is there any passage clearly indicating the natural filiation of the Son of God. Jesus Christ is merely the Messias—in the Hebrew sense—the adopted Son of God; and for an explicit declaration of His Divine filiation and consubstantiality with the Father we must turn to the fourth Gospel.

But the fourth Gospel itself fares badly at the hands of our critics. The basis of the criticism of this Gospel remains substantially the same since the days of Reuss, who claims to have been its originator some forty years ago. Reuss has, unfortunately, found indiscreet imitators among Catholic exegetes.

For example, the Abbé Loisy has published, since the year 1897, in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuse*, at least eleven articles on the fourth Gospel, in which he dishes up again the shallow criticisms of Reuss. Basing his assertions on an imaginary discrepancy in St. John's narrative (chap. vi.), the Abbé gravely denies the historic accuracy of St. John: "L'auteur ne vise pas à l'exactitude matérielle des détails, mais à une certaine vérité générale de représentation!"

As to the discourse on the Eucharist in the same chapter, it is

St. John's composition. What are we to think of a Catholic who comments in the following strain on the words of our Lord : "Qui manducat meam carnem," &c. ; "Et certes, Jésus n'a jamais tenu ces propos devant un auditoire juif ; il n'a point parlé de l'eucharistie un an avant sa mort. . . . *C'est l'Évangéliste qui parle par la bouche du Christ.*" We were always of opinion that God spoke through the Evangelist, but M. Loisy has discovered that it is the other way about.

Père Fontaine then gives his views on the Johannine question, and roundly declares that M. Loisy's theories undermine revealed doctrines, especially the Divinity of Jesus Christ, baptismal regeneration, and the Holy Eucharist.

Such, in brief, are some of the errors which Père Fontaine exposes, and, if we are to believe him, they have already produced many evil results outside the academical sphere. "Quite lately, in an article addressed to the *Times*, appealing for pecuniary assistance in favour of what is called the work of evangelisation of the French clergy, its authors boasted of having produced, within the last five years, two hundred apostasies in the ranks of the French clergy, regular and secular." Allowing for exaggerations, the number has been considerable, and these new apostates, unlike those of former times, have gone to swell the ranks of the Huguenot, Lutheran, or Anglican clergy, or set up Gospel shops of their own in the French capital. This mania for preaching heresy which recent apostates have displayed is to be attributed, in some measure, to the new exegetical movement, according to Father Fontaine, and he can produce undeniable proofs of his assertion.

It is a pity [remarks our author] that some French exegetists should profess such contempt for their learned countryman, Bossuet (who has been the means of bringing back at least one distinguished Frenchman to the fold). They prefer to wallow in the intellectual rubbish from across the Rhine.

But it is not only in the domain of theology that Protestant errors are intruding themselves. In the university, in the cottages of the peasant, the same scourge is making itself felt, and Father Fontaine believes that the Protestant question is becoming as acute as the Jewish question, of which we have heard so much. The agencies of Protestant proselytising societies are to be found dotted over the country. The most notable, perhaps, is the *Œuvre MacAll*\*, a Scottish agency, which collects

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\* MacAll was decorated by M. Ribot, July 22nd, 1892 (*Journal Officiel*)

over £10,000 a year for mission work among the benighted French. Its "accounts are verified in London at Finsbury Circus" [*sic*].

That these interlopers can make themselves very disagreeable goes without saying. They are, besides, most unpatriotic and most disloyal to their adopted country. The pastor Lecoat, for example, builds Protestant schools in Brittany with English money, and teaches his young French proselytes to sing "Good [*sic*] save the Queen."

An Anglican minister in the Puy-de-Dôme politely informs the people that "England is the first nation in the world, and that the Franco-Russia Alliance is a *prostitution*." Another tells them that "France is the most immoral country in the world, because it is Catholic," and so on.

In conclusion, we may remark that Catholics in these countries may learn a useful lesson from the state of affairs disclosed in the pages of Père Fontaine. Exegetical studies occupy, it is true, a comparatively subordinate place in the curriculum of English seminaries; but the influence of Protestant ideas makes itself felt in other ways, and we fear there were only too serious reasons for the publication of the recent joint Pastoral Letter of the Bishops. Among the many worthy and excellent converts who have been happily finding their way into the true Church, we find occasionally one or two who forget that they must leave behind their Protestant ideas in the Establishment, where they find their congenial element.

P. N.

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**La Liberté et la Conservation de l'Energie.** Par MARIUS COUAILHAC, S.J. Paris: Lecoffre. 8vo. Pp. 324.

**A**MONG the books that have made a mark in their departments during the last year or two, this monograph of Père Couilhac deserves honourable mention. The particular chapter of philosophy that is here treated required attention, and it is handled by the author with remarkable success. The subject is the philosophical aspect and bearing of certain of the scientific discoveries of the century we have just quitted. For it is well known that, during the last fifty or sixty years, separate lines of experiment have led to the distinct formulation of the law of the conservation of energy. This law of the conservation of energy declares that the total amount of energy

in the material universe cannot be varied. It may pass from the latent to the active stage; or it may be in various ways transformed, but the sum total remains ever the same. This law is confessedly a generalisation from experience. It is not only as wide as the material universe, but it involves relations with the non-material. For in the commonest experiences of life, the will power of man affects in some way the reservoir of material activities, as in lifting, pushing, throwing, in dropping a stone, or in the arrangement of the material agencies which propel our trains and ironclads. The will of man is regarded by all as in some sense a spring of energy. The question then arises, Is the action of the will upon matter to be classed as identical with the energies that are manifested in the action of the solar rays, the earth's rotation, or chemical affinities? If so, the will creates nothing, it initiates nothing; its office is merely to transform energies already existing. If, on the other hand, the action of the will is to be considered as a separate non-material power, either it communicates energy, and increases the sum total of material energy, or it is purely inactive as far as bodily objects are concerned; or, in other words, it is conceded that the will is powerless to affect any material substance, even the organism to which the will is united. If, then, the law of conservation of energy be maintained, it is difficult to comprehend what is the function of will power, and what is meant by the exercise of free will. In its simplest form, the problem may be thus stated:

The law of conservation of energy means fixity of the sum total of energy in the universe:

The exercise of free will involves change in that sum total, by reason of the addition of volitional energy.

The two statements are apparently incompatible, and we seem forced to the conclusion that either the law of the conservation of energy has been inaccurately stated, or that it yields in some way to the action of will power, or that the exercise of free will, as in physical effort, is an illusion.

Many attempts have been made to supply an explanation of the relation between will force and the mechanics and chemistry of the universe. Some have impugned the validity of the law of conservation of energy; others have questioned the accuracy of its expression; others, again, have contended that the energy introduced by the action of the will into the system of the material universe is so insignificant that it may be regarded



as a negligible quantity. Père Couailhac intervenes with a new solution of the problem. He admits the validity and substantial accuracy of the law of the conservation of energy; he maintains that the action of free will is no illusion. The substance of his suggestion may be given in a few words: "We accept," he would say, "without doubt or limitation the law of the conservation of energy, which states that the sum of energy in the material universe is constant. We also maintain the freedom of the will's operations, as manifested in the initiation of material action and in the control of material agencies; but in so doing we hold that volitional action in no way affects the *quantitative* or measurable sum total of foot pounds of energy in the universe. The action of the will is not quantitative; that is to say, it does not increase or decrease the amount of material power in the world: but it controls it, and modifies its character or direction. In other words, it gives a *quality* to the amount of energy that is brought into activity." The will, for example, is powerless to move the paralysed arm, or to cause the explosion of damp gunpowder. But, given the latent power of action in the healthy limb, given the due chemical conditions of the explosive, the free will can then control the manner in which the one or the other display of energy is to be exhibited.

We consider that the main position of the author is established beyond a doubt, while his criticism of other solutions of the problem are relentless and irresistible. What yet remains obscure (and Père Couailhac is fully alive to the difficulties with which the grand problem of existence is surrounded), he has not even attempted to clear up. We refer to a further question as to the way in which the will exercises an influence of whatever kind upon the nervous and muscular activities of the human body; for we may still inquire by what process it is able to arouse the latent energies of the organism or inhibit its further activity. These are questions to which an ingenious answer has already been supplied by Père Munnynck, O.P., of Louvain.

The position now taken up with regard to the former question is that the conservation or constancy of material power, and the initiative and determining power of the will are each fundamental laws of existence. They are not contradictory, but different. They are not antagonistic or mutually exclusive, but correlatives and complementary. The many and far-reaching problems involved are discussed by our author in six sections. And if the detailed treatment of the subject is minute and closely interlaced,

the general plan is simple. After stating the problem to be solved in Section I., he discusses, as a preliminary, the cognate question of the relation between thought and movement. In Section II. he states and rejects the views of those writers who sought to escape the difficulty by denying the invariability of physical laws. Section III. is taken up with the various theories that have been devised to safeguard the invariability of physical laws, and in particular the law of the conservation of energy and the free initiative of the will. In this section the author sets aside the metaphysical solutions of Leibnitz and Mallebranche—the mathematical solutions of M. de Saint-Venant, M. Boussinesq, and M. Delbœuf, and the mixed solution of M. Fonsegrive. In Sections IV. and V. he expounds his own view; and in Section VI., on Finality, he criticises the view of M. Lachelier.

From beginning to end the book is an example of close and conscientious reasoning; and while we feel that in various details the treatment of this difficult subject could have been simplified without any loss of power, we cordially welcome the book as a philosophical production of high rank, and as a chain of reasoning that is not only profound and convincing, but unusually brilliant. It is a book not for the general reader, but for the expert; and we may assert with confidence that no philosophical library can afford to dispense with so important a contribution to the speculative controversies of the time.

H. P.

**The New Raccolta, or Collection of Prayers and Good Works to which the Sovereign Pontiffs have attached Holy Indulgences.** From the third Italian Edition. Philadelphia: Peter F. Cunningham & Son, 825, Arch Street. 1900. Pp. 684.

THE importance of the "Raccolta" may be gathered from the following passage, taken from the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences prefixed to the present edition:

Our Holy Father, Leo XIII., by virtue of his Apostolic authority, has approved this collection issued from the press of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda; and, therefore, it must be regarded by all as the correct and authorised collection of indulgences hitherto granted for all the faithful, and for such as are in communities specially designated. Wherefore, if by chance any doubt should arise, either as to the sense of the grant or the conditions requisite for gaining the indulgences

it must be determined solely by this "Raccolta," which His Holiness has directed to be considered the complete guide. On this account he has ordered the present decree to be prepared and prefixed to the present edition.

It was a good thought on the part of the translator to add as an Appendix to this collection prayers to be recited during the time of Mass, and the psalms usually sung at Vespers.

W. G.

**Les Litanies de la Sainte Vierge, étude historique et critique.** Par le R. P. ANGELO DE SANTI. Traduit de l'Italien par l'Abbé A. BOUDINHON. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette. 1900. Pp. 251.

THE author maintains, with good show of reason, that litanies in honour of our Blessed Lady had no existence before the twelfth century. At first they were of private use only. Gradually their recitation became common and public. In the second part of the fifteenth century various litanies in honour of our Lady were publicly recited, especially during the periods of pestilence. The Litany of Loreto, as it now exists, is either a compilation formed from the litanies in use in the fifteenth century, or—and this seems to our author more probable—is an original litany already in use at Loreto in the fifteenth century. It is true that the earliest certain evidence that we have of the use at Loreto of a litany in our Lady's honour dates back no farther than the year 1576. But, as our author points out, it is improbable that when so many other places had their litanies in our Lady's honour, as early as the fifteenth century, Loreto alone, the most famous sanctuary of all, should have gone without its litany. The present volume is not a mere translation of Father de Santi's treatise on the subject. It contains many new and important documents, and as casting light on an obscure, yet most interesting study, is well worthy of perusal.

W. L. G.

**Le Mariage Religieux et les Procès en Nullité.** Par A. BOUDINHON. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette. 1900. Pp. 72.

OUR author, setting before his readers the procedure followed in matrimonial cases, shows the jealous care with which the Church watches over the marriage tie:

In order that the ecclesiastical judge may pronounce in favour

of nullity, it is not sufficient that, after the investigation and the pleadings, it should seem to him more or less probable that the marriage is null; it is absolutely necessary that he should have a true moral certainty on the matter, such as excludes every serious doubt. Marriage, once entered upon, is the object of the law's protection, and is presumed valid till the contrary is incontestably proved; and the duty of the judge is to stand for the validity, as long as a reasonable doubt remains in his mind. It is this that explains the formula employed in the rejection of petitions for nullity. The formula is not, "The marriage is valid," but "The proof of nullity is not sufficient" (p. 53).

If any one needs proof of the extreme reluctance of the Church to grant a decree of nullity, he will find it in this little treatise.

W. G.

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**Mater Dolorosa**, with a series of other Sacred Pieces. By the Rev. LAWRENCE MOESLEIN, C.P. New York: J. Fisher & Brother. 4to. Pp. 134.

IN drawing attention to this collection of music and verses, we have nothing but praise for the idea of constructing a repertoire of pieces in honour of the Sacred Passion and our Lady of Compassion. A collection of this description is wanted, and should command a sale. Nor do we criticise the doctrine contained in any of the original hymns, although, as the publication appears without any mark of ecclesiastical sanction, we have no desire to undertake the responsibilities of a *Censor deputatus*. The verses all breathe sentiments of piety, even when their expression is unconventional. With regard to the purely musical portion of the work, the composer gives evidence of a certain fertility of resource and care in editing. Beyond this, it need only be remarked that the accompaniments are invariably unsuited to the harmonium or organ, and that many of the pieces could with difficulty be executed by the average choir, at least in this country, and that the melodies are often florid to a singular degree of extravagance. In the duet at p. 21, one voice asks questions, while the other makes remarks, or rather ejaculates. What, perhaps, is most conspicuous in the musical settings, both of the English and Latin pieces, is an almost complete absence of a perception of the exigencies of accent and rhythm. Take, as an example, the Alleluias at p. 112, where we have consecutively *Alleluia*, *Alleluia*, *Alleluia*, *Alleluia*.

The composer is undaunted in the presence of any perplexity

of adaptation. Conceive, for instance, the problem involved in bringing these two sets of words under the same melody :

Vexilla Regis prodeunt,  
Fulget Crucis mysterium,  
Qua vita mortem pertulit,  
Et morte vitam protulit.  
Quae vulnerata lanceae  
Mucrone diro, criminum  
Ut nos lavaret sordibus,  
Manavit unda et sanguine.  
Impleta sunt quae, quae concinit.  
Impleta sunt, quae concinit  
David fideli carmine,  
Regnavit a ligno Deus.

Two Hands have haunted me for days,  
Two Hands of slender shape,  
All crushed and torn as in the press  
Is bruised the purple grape :  
At work or meals, at prayer or play,  
Those mangled Palms I see.  
And a plaintive voice keeps whispering :  
" These Hands were pierced for thee !"  
For me, sweet Lord, for me ?  
Yea, even so ungrateful thing !  
" These Hands were pierced for thee."

The English verses, we say it with reluctance, are of one type throughout, devoid of finish, delicacy, or refinement.

The first hymn is a prayer to the sorrowful heart of the *Mater Dolorosa*. Each verse opens with " Sweet . . . Moth . . . er " ! The last verse runs thus :

Sweet Moth . . . er all is over now,  
The grave hath closed upon  
Thy bitter griefs, thy broken heart,  
And Him, thy only one.

The music curiously emphasises the strangeness of the accent. Here is another specimen of the style (p. 121) :

Good morning, my sweet Jesus,  
I come to offer Thee  
My heart, thoughts, words, and actions  
Throughout the coming day.  
O may the loving thought of Thee  
Be ever in my mind,  
In order that no other there  
A resting-place may find. . . .  
That thus when evening comes I may  
Hope I've served Thee well to-day.

At p. 126 the Divine Infant is referred to as "a thing of miles and tears." He is asked to bestow "a fond approving smile." There is a companion hymn, "Good night, Jesus," with versed commonplaces, set to florid music for the soloist, followed by an inferior negro chorus, with the strangest arrangement of words (p. 120). After looking through the book carefully, and attempting to sing some of the pieces, we are unable to recommend the collection.

H. P.

**XIII\* Centenaire du Pallium des Eveques d'Autun, et J ibilé de Consecration Episcopale. Par le Cardinal PERRAUD. Evêque d'Autun, Chalon, et Macon, membre de l'Académie Française. 599—1874—1899. Autun : Dejussieu Père et Fils, imprimeurs de l'Évêché.**

**I**T was a happy coincidence that His Eminence Cardinal Perraud should be celebrating the Silver Jubilee of his Episcopate in the thirteenth centenary year of the first coming of the *Pallium* to the See of Autun ; and it was but natural and fitting that, in the address to his flock on the occasion, he should link these two subjects together.

The *Pallium*, he tells them, first came to Autun in 599, being given by St. Gregory the Great to St. Syagrius, the then bishop of that see—and to his successors *in perpetuum*—for the charitable hospitality shown to St. Augustine and his companions on their way to convert the Anglo-Saxon race ; so that, from that time forward, the Bishops of Autun were privileged to take precedence of all the other suffragans of the Province of Lyons. And he gracefully concludes :

Le Pallium des Evêques d'Autun est donc le mémorial d'un des événements que notre Bossuet estime être un des plus considérables de l'histoire de l'Eglise, à savoir la conversion de la nation anglaise a la foi catholique (p. 12).

This thought reminds him of his having assisted in England—through the earnest request of Cardinal Vaughan and the express desire of the Sovereign Pontiff—at the celebration of the thirteenth centenary of the coming of St. Augustine ; and he narrates how he established at once, on his return to his diocese, the Archconfraternity of our Lady of Compassion for the conversion of that portion of the English people separated from the Church since the sixteenth century. And, furthermore, he

wishes to record publicly his gratitude to his "éminentissime collègue," Cardinal Vaughan, "l'illustre chef de la hiérarchie catholique d'Angleterre"—first for a magnificent statue of St. Gregory the Great, "don vraiment princier," sent from England as a thank-offering; and, secondly, for the Cardinal's Pastoral Letter of December, 1898, begging the prayers of his flock to avert the threatened outbreak of hostilities between England and France, and on account of the difficulties in North Africa—"noble langage," he says, coming from a thoughtful care worthy of a successor of St. Augustine of Canterbury, and "en si parfaite harmonie avec le grand cœur d'un Saint Grégoire." As to the statue, it is to be placed, he continues, on the portico of the vestibule of the episcopal palace, with a suitable inscription, and a prayer (both of which he gives) taken from the Church of St. Gregory on the Cœlian at Rome—that all who come there may see the visible witness of the close, ancient, and enduring ties which bind the diocese of Autun to the Church in England and to the Holy See.

Then follows the explanation of the *Pallium*, and its symbolism—after which, with a simple and affecting humility as regards himself, and a loving gratitude towards all who have been associated with him in his episcopate, he makes a brief review of the previous twenty-five years.

Such is the gist of this graceful and touching address; but it must be read to be appreciated.

J. H.

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**Meditations on the Psalms of the Little Office.** By PEREGRINUS. With an Introduction by GEORGE TYRRELL, S.J. London: Sands & Co., 12, Burleigh Street, Strand. Pp. xvii., 140.

THE perusal of the above meditations by the unknown "Peregrinus" has been a real pleasure. Their style is fresh, their particular subject is new, their whole presentation is novel and attractive. Yet we do not feel that they are exactly popular. The writer, it would appear, had no intention of writing for the many, but for the few. The volume is unquestionably one of meditations for "advanced students" in spiritual things, and as such is a decidedly welcome addition to our literature. We have not observed a single meditation that could be classed as belonging properly to what is known as the purgative way. There is a complete absence of anything paltry. No trifling



are occupied not in combat with enemies, but in communion with God.

The order of subjects is determined by the order of the Psalms of the Little Office of our Lady, of which these meditations are in a certain large sense a paraphrase. The themes that recur and give a character to the book are: God (His praise, the Creation, our dependence on God), the Word made flesh, the Church, the soul and God (the knowledge of God, the yearning for God, faithfulness to God and to light, devotedness to God), humility.

The construction of the meditations is simple and uniform. First we have the text of the Latin Vulgate, with a dignified and vigorous English rendering in parallel columns. In the English translation there are introduced occasional, and sometimes frequent, textual suggestions. Then follows a paragraph supplying the key to the spirit of the Psalm. The points are generally two, each being very short, and consisting for the most part of a single thought or principle. The points are followed by copious affections, sometimes closely paraphrasing the Psalm, or some other passage of Scripture, at other times being the spontaneous outpourings of the writer. There is nothing thin about these affections. On the contrary, they are as rich in thought and substance as they are varied and carefully expressed. They are the utterances of a strong piety, nourished by an enlightened theology and a philosophic insight. Where all is of such even excellence, it is difficult to make choice of an illustration. The following, however, are characteristic :

On Psalm lxii. 1, 2, 3. *Point 1.* The soul must find her safety during a crisis, in preserving a frank and loving attitude towards God, by whose permission she is suffering :

O God, make this always the impulse of our hearts, our cry one with the cry on the Cross, "My God, my God." O God, if Thou art ours, much more are we Thine ; Thine, though on what seems a trackless waste ; Thine, though with dry and parched lips thirsting for Thee ; Thine, yet with our whole being pining for Thee, as we seek for Thee and, finding Thee not, seem to lose ourselves ; Thine, even if Thou hide Thyself from daybreak until the shadows fall and the day of life draws to a close (p. 55).

Again on James i. 17 :

O God, Father of lights, every best gift and every perfect gift comes from Thee ; let us despise nothing that Thou sendest, nor through slothful coldness lose Thy favours.

Make us, the children of the Church, eager to gain Thy every blessing; through each benediction of the great Sacrament of the Altar, source of all fulness; through our Fathers, the Bishops; through each priestly blessing closing sacramental ministries; through the yearly round of fast and feast, making us sharers with the Blessed in heaven, and with the holy souls blessed in the cleansing fires; that Thou, our own God, mayst bless us, and we, reflecting before men the light of Thy shining upon us, may, in the beauty of our lives and works, increasingly glorify Thee (p. 61).

We must confess to having found the meditation on the "Dixit Dominus" disappointing. That on "Deus, Deus meus," Psalm lxii., is charming, as well as those on Psalms cxx. and cxxx. The treatment of the "De profundis" is clever, and the interpretation of Psalms cxxx., "Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum," is one of the prettiest things in the book. It is described as "A little plaint to God, like the wistful lisp of a child," and is on our Blessed Lady.

Paper and printing are worthy of the matter of the volume, while the price is reasonable.

One thing in the book seems to call for revision; that is, the unusual and inconsistent division of the Latin syllables. A commonly accepted rule for division is, that "in dividing a word into two syllables, a consonant between two vowels belongs to the second: *a-mo, li-xa*." But here we meet with: *fund-averunt, popul-us, regnav-it, vel-amento, anim-a, land-ate, Domin-i*. We have likewise *virtut-em, noct-em*. At p. 64, "*exalt* in their king," is presumably a slip for "*exult*," &c.

The devout soul, when speaking of submission to the Church, prays for the grace "humbly to accept censures." This, at first blush, seems out of place; but it is justified by the attitude taken up by the soul throughout. She never uses the singular, but invariably identifies herself with the people of God.

Father Tyrrell, in a very suitable Introduction, makes a vigorous plea for Liturgical services, Scriptural prayers, and an intelligent recitation of the Divine Office. H. P.

**Jésus.** Par le R. P. SERTILLANGES, des Frères Prêcheurs.  
Paris: Lecoffre. 1900.

WE have here a book of meditations on the life of Jesus Christ—meditations, not for formal use in prayer, but for that preparation of the heart and the imagination which details of daily life are referred to. The activities of the soul

makes prayer more easy. The pious Dominican uses his knowledge of the Holy Land and his theological training to paint with his pen a series of pictures of our Lord's life—His birth, His solitude, His preaching, His prayers, His disciples, &c. The book bears the *imprimatur* of the Dominican Provincial of France.

X.

**The Holy Year of Jubilee: an Account of the History and Ceremonial of the Roman Jubilee.** By HERBERT THURSTON, S.J. Illustrated from contemporary engravings and other sources. London: Sands & Co., 12, Burleigh Street, Strand. 1900. 12s. 6d. net.

FATHER THURSTON has given us, in this handsome and quaintly illustrated volume, a work that is valuable, interesting, and opportune. Some such book—at once explanatory, historical, archæological, and, in its measure, controversial—was certainly needed at the present time; and this book well supplies the need.

As to controversy, indeed, there is more perhaps than might have been expected; but, on reflection, clearly not more than was required for the complete treatment of a subject so much misunderstood and misrepresented. The old theory of "Luther *v.* Abuse of Indulgences," as the essential basis of the Protestant Reformation, has long since received its death-blow: yet there still remain such points to be dealt with as, for instance, the idea that the Church's doctrine of indulgences has changed; or the theory that a *culpa et pœna* must have meant remission of guilt by indulgences without contrition and confession; or the still widely prevalent notion, that Jubilees were invented and promoted mainly to fill the Papal treasury. All such objections are successfully dealt with in the present work.

To Catholics, however, the main interest will lie in another direction—in the account of the origin of the first Jubilee, and of the events of the succeeding ones, in the story of the great Roman Basilicas and their throngs of pilgrims; in the ceremonial and symbolism of the "Holy Door"; in the essential holiness, now and ever, of *Roma la Santa* behind all outward seemings, in the unimpeachable testimonies as to the beneficent moral and civilising effects of the successive Jubilees upon the whole Christian world.

As regards this last point—which, we venture to think, will appeal with special force also to non-Catholic readers—Father Thurston observes :

Besides the pious practices, the devotional enthusiasm, the singular examples of charity, and the many other educative influences with which men became acquainted through their pilgrimage to Rome, the Jubilee would seem to have brought, at least occasionally, two other benefits in its train. In the first place, it was a force making for the peace of Christendom ; and, secondly, it lent a great stimulus to works of public utility (p. 306).

And this, not merely because of the special aims of the Jubilee itself, but because of the high character of Roman life, as witnessed to by such eminent Protestant travellers as John Howard, Fynes Moryson, Dr. John Moore, Richard Lassels, and Keysler. Hence, it can be said that :

During that period when the Jubilee pilgrimages were most frequented, Italy, and more especially Rome, set the example to the world in matters of piety, education, and refinement (p. 301).

And again :

During the four centuries with which we are more especially concerned, Italy, and, in particular, Rome, stood in the van of all civilising influences. In charitable organisations of all kinds ; in her guilds and confraternities ; in the treatment of the sick and poor ; in clemency towards the accused and towards convicted criminals ; in the comparative moderation of her procedure against reputed sorcerers, at a time when Northern nations, almost without exception, were dominated by the most extravagant witch-mania ; in matters of cleanliness and politeness, as well as in the encouragement of the arts and sciences, Rome might bear comparison most favourably with any country in Europe, and most of all, with any Protestant country (p. 282).

If we would venture to offer any criticism on Father Thurston's book, it would be one concerning side-issues—and even then with reference rather to manner than to matter. Two points, at any rate, seem to call for notice : and the first of these is the estimate that is given of the character of Boniface VIII.—the Pontiff to whom we are mainly indebted for the origin of the Jubilee year itself. Father Thurston speedily dismisses, of course, the gravest charges against this Pope ; but, for the rest, he seems quite content to leave everything in an unfinished condition. He tells us, that “it may readily be conceded that he

(Boniface) was a man who exhibited conspicuous faults of character"; that it is "also probable that he overstepped the bounds, both of moderation and of strict right, in his energetic efforts to vindicate for the Holy See a supremacy over temporal rulers"; that "his motives were yet far from unworthy"; that Cardinal Wiseman's judgment of him "perhaps inclines to overleniency," and may be "supplemented by the verdict" of M. Felix Rocquain; and that M. Rocquain's verdict is, that "he more than once displayed greatness of character," but that "he was at times betrayed into indulgence for lax principles": and here the matter ends. And a most unsatisfactory ending it is. Surely more ought to have been said—or less—than this. As a matter of fact, not every one does concede that there were "conspicuous faults" in Boniface; nor should we have thought that any Catholic would "readily" concede it. Many think it *not* probable that he "overstepped the bounds of strict right"; and many would consider his motives not only "far from unworthy," but very worthy indeed. Why should Cardinal Wiseman's estimate be thought "over-lenient"? Why should M. Rocquain's verdict be taken as final? And why should his ill-sounding phrase, "indulgence for lax principles," be left unchallenged, unsifted, and unexplained? Father Thurston's work is a representative one: and we submit that we had a right to expect from him a careful summing up of the evidence, if so important a subject was to be dealt with at all.

Again, we confess to a distinct jarring sensation caused by the tone and style of the author's comments concerning the authenticity of some of the great relics at Rome. Thus, for instance, after being told that in the Middle Ages no relic was so intensely honoured as the "Veil of Veronica," we are at once informed (p. 154) that "all we can say of the legend, of its earlier history (*i.e.*, before the eleventh century) is, that there is some reason for believing that Veronica . . . may really be an historical personage, though there is no sort of early authority for her meeting our Lord on the way to Calvary"—and there the matter ends. Again, as regards the *Scala Santo*, or Holy Stairs, which tradition considers to have been the steps of the Prætorium of Pilate, we are told (p. 188) that people will judge very differently of the evidential value of the tradition—that while some will consider the devotion of the faithful and the sanctions of many Popes "a sufficient guarantee," others "will wish to examine the historical evidence, and will ask for fuller proof"—that as

space cannot be afforded in the present instance to discuss the matter adequately, a specimen of a "conservative" view of the subject may be found in the opinion of Mgr. Barbier de Montault, who thinks that to "deny" the authenticity of this relic is to be disrespectful to the Holy See, but that "proofs" instead of "bare assertions" of Popes would be "much more satisfactory." And here, too, the matter ends. Again, as regards the Holy Crib, after quoting Mgr. Luzi in a footnote (p. 203) to the effect that there is no positive evidence for it before the eleventh century, Father Thurston merely adds, in the same footnote, that it is "hard to explain" the presence of an eighth century inscription in Greek uncials on one of the boards of the Crib, "on the supposition that the relic is authentic." And here, once more, the matter ends.

Now, Father Thurston is writing presumably, in the first instance, for Catholics—not for a set of mere antiquarians whose greed for documentary evidence is only equalled by their disregard for the supernatural; and we maintain that the impression an ordinary Catholic reader would get from these and other passages of the kind is, that these relics are practically of no account since their authenticity is sufficiently discredited. Is this a desirable impression to produce? We may admit, of course, that there is less documentary evidence than we could wish, and also that there are some difficulties which as yet have not been fully explained. But such circumstances as these are not everything; indeed, they may easily count for very little in face of a time-honoured tradition of the Church concerning objects which have been guarded with jealous care, and which have fed the devotion of millions of Christians for centuries. At any rate, one certainly could have wished that the author had been less off-hand in the matter, and had written in a style more suggestive of broad thoughtfulness, and less suggestive of critical unconcern. He explains, it is true, that the Church's infallibility is not at stake in questions of pure history, &c.; but the explanation does not do away with the impression, nor is it clear that the explanation is quite satisfactory in itself. We certainly think, for instance, that the question of the *Scala Santa* is more than "a question of pure history"; we think that the authenticity of relics does not depend on the "canons of historical criticism" of any particular age. We think, that where there is nothing but negative evidence against an old tradition, the Holy See is not only "naturally slow to act," but is often in no need to act at

all—seeing that it is already in honoured possession ; and we think, finally, that that honoured possession has not been duly honoured in the present instance.

We have no wish to be captious, or to exaggerate : we have only tried to record frankly an impression we distinctly felt, and which, we imagine, other Catholics must have felt also. It is quite possible that the author may disagree with our remarks ; and it is highly probable that he knows far better than we do the character of his audience and the precise object of his book. Nevertheless, we venture to hope that he may see his way to some modification as regards the points mentioned, should he publish further editions of his learned and valuable work.

J. H.

**The Divine Plan of the Church. Where it is realised ; and where it is not.** By the Rev. JOHN MACLAUGHLIN.  
London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Bros.

FATHER MACLAUGHLIN, the author of this volume, is already well known to the Catholic public of these countries, both as a preacher and by his excellent work, "Is One Religion as Good as Another?" In the latter, he had dealt with the errors of indifferentism in matters of religion. The present volume is logically the sequel of this, and carries the reader to the more specific inquiry as to the nature of the one and only Church founded by Christ. In approaching this all-important question, Father MacLaughlin has followed a line of thought which is at once profound and, in works of this kind, original, by seeking the necessary type and ideal of the Church in the mind of Christ, who founded her, and by impressing upon the reader the inexorable unity of truth as we must expect to find it in the doctrine of a Divine Teacher. As the exemplar of the Ark of the Covenant came from heaven, so the concept of the Church came from the Divine mind of her Founder, and hence includes attributes of unity, infallibility, and indefectibility, which eternally mark it off from any merely human institution. The following passage will serve to indicate the keynote of the argument, as well as to give a sample of the clear and plain terms in which it is expressed :

What was the meaning the word "truth" had in His mind when He spoke it that day, the day of His crucifixion, in the Prætorium of Pilate? Did He not mean the revelation which



He had come from heaven purposely to make, which He had made in part personally already, which was contained in the great commission: "Going, teach all nations"—the revelation of which His Church was to be always and everywhere the "pillar and the ground"? Did He not mean the revelation which would enable His people to see the Godhead in the right light, which would teach the truth and nothing but the truth about the Father, about Himself (the Son), and about the Divine Spirit; that revelation which would redound to the glory of the Trinity; that revelation on the knowledge *of* and belief *in* which would depend the salvation of the souls made to the Divine image; that revelation which was to form the subject-matter of faith—the faith without which it would be impossible to find favour before the eye of Heaven? Did He not mean the whole of that deposit of explicit, definite doctrine which He had decreed from the beginning to make known to the world through the preaching of His Apostles, and which His Divine Spirit would continue for ever to teach and explain when His own visible presence had been withdrawn to heaven?

Yes; this is evidently what He meant, if we are to judge by His words, which are both clear and definite. He did not say He had come to give testimony about a doubt, a guess, a conjecture, a supposition, an opinion; but about truth—stern, inflexible, determinate truth, which could not change any more than His own essence; for He Himself was its Divine incorporation. Here, then, is the nature of the truth of which He spoke. Here the value He set upon it. Here the importance He attached to the promulgation of it. Never, till we have measured the mysteries of the Godhead, of the Incarnation, of Redemption, of the Beatific Vision, shall we be able to realise adequately the incomprehensible preciousness of truth in the Divine eyes, since for its sake, and expressly on its account, He that was God descended from heaven, "was made flesh and dwelt amongst us." "For this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth."

Such was the importance He attached to truth in that ever memorable hour, when the word fell from His lips in the Jerusalem Judgment Hall. Had He ever attached less importance to it at any previous period? Was He ever to attach less to it at any subsequent one? Does He take less interest in it now than He did then? Has the love He had for it on that day gradually declined with passing years, until, in the present generation, He is as much pleased with what is false as with what is true, and looks upon truth and falsehood as practically synonymous? In a word, could He set a different value upon it at different times? He could not do so without changing;

and change in *Him* is impossible. For *He* it is of whom it is written: "The same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

But could it be said that it possessed any value at all in His eyes if He did not leave some means of giving *infallible testimony* to it when His glorified humanity had disappeared from the earth?

We use emphatically the phrase *infallible testimony*; for anything less would be useless, would be, we might say, a contradiction, since testimony that was liable to be mistaken could only have the effect of changing truth into conjecture—of turning what was objectively true into what would be subjectively doubtful.

This book is meant to help those who are not in possession of that truth already to search after and to find it.

While dealing thus with the loftiest principles which flow from the very nature of the Incarnation, the author has been careful not to make his argument a matter of abstract theology, but has skilfully brought his readers into the very midst of the events and utterances of to-day, in which they find their concrete application or illustration. Thus the current phrases or shibboleths of Anglican speakers and writers of our time are quoted to show their radical inconsistency with the primary principles to which we have referred. Having clearly established the fact that in the mind of Christ there must have existed a plan of the Church—a plan distinct and definite—and having shown that this plan is not one which could be altered or modified by any human influences, Father MacLaughlin proceeds to show, in very lucid terms, what the plan necessarily included, and what it necessarily excluded. Nothing can be more clear or more cogent than the way in which, in the subsequent chapters, indefectibility and infallibility are proved to be necessary elements in the plan, if it were not ludicrously to fall short of its purpose. So far, the author insists on the general principles to which, inevitably, must travel back all religious controversies, and with which, finally, must rest the solution of all religious difficulties. In Part Second of the work the author enters freely into the domain of actual polemics, and shows that the Divine plan of the Church, as postulated by the very nature of the Incarnation, is not, and cannot be realised in such bodies as the Church of England. In this he follows closely the mental working of Newman, while adding much that has rendered the issues still plainer in our own time.

In this part of the work the claims of Anglicanism are sub-

jected to a searching test, and its character as a human adaptation and State-created organism is very clearly laid bare. The verdict of the author is strengthened by the fact that the testimonies cited are in part taken from Anglicans themselves, and from other non-Catholic authorities whose evidence is absolutely free from any suspicion of bias in favour of Catholicism. The number of these testimonies collected in this part of the work, both from historical sources and from the contemporary literature of the day, will make Father MacLaughlin's work not only deeply interesting, but singularly useful to all who follow with interest the religious controversies of the time. They represent a wide field of reading and research, and they mark out with irresistible aptness the characteristics of the Anglican Establishment in a way that will leave on the mind of candid readers no doubt as to the difference which separates such an institution from all that we are taught to expect of the concept and constitution of the Catholic Church of Christ.

A concluding chapter is devoted to the Ritualist section in the Church of England. While this express application comes thus at the close, one cannot but feel that the whole argument of the book from the first bears most directly and vitally upon their position, and *a fortiori* upon that of all other non-Catholics. It is precisely in the light of the test of the Divine plan which Father MacLaughlin so ably puts in the forefront of his reasoning that the various misguided expedients of attempting to harmonise Anglicanism and Catholicity are conspicuously found to fail. For this reason we trust that this work may be widely read outside of the fold, especially by the many earnest and sincere souls whose eyes are turned towards the Catholic Mother from whom they have been unwittingly estranged.

We have only to add that the book has been honoured by a Preface and a cordial recommendation from the pen of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, with his blessing to the author and his readers.

We heartily commend the work to the clergy as an excellent one to put in the hands of converts or inquirers after truth; and also to the laity, who will find in its pages a clear and profound presentment of the great principles of the Catholic Church, in contrast to the man-made systems which lie outside her pale.

M.

**Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ Numeri.** By Father DE HUMMELAUER. Parisiis : Sumptibus P. Lethielleux.

FATHER DE HUMMELAUER stands in need of no apology for bringing before the public an exhaustive commentary on the Pentateuch, written from a Catholic point of view. The one fact alone that the learned Benedictine Calmet, who published his work in the year 1707, was the last to write a complete commentary on the books of Moses, is abundant justification of the present work of the German Jesuit Father. For the science of Biblical criticism has undergone a revolution in the interval ; and it is of great importance to have set before the public a re-statement of Catholic interpretation modified in accordance with the results of recent research.

Father de Hummelauer takes to task certain of his reviewers, who had expressed the opinion that it would have been better had he composed his commentary more "*ad normam criticæ*," examining first the sources of the work, &c., and then explaining the text.

As a matter of fact, however, Father de Hummelauer might have replied that an exhaustive general Introduction to the Pentateuch had appeared in Father Cornely's "Introductio" to the volumes of the "*Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*," and that Father Cornely had therein clearly indicated the point of view in regard to the critical analysis of the Pentateuch, from which the subsequent volumes were to be written. If the learned commentator on *Numbers* refers to any remarks made by us in reference to his exposition of *Genesis*, we would here beg to explain that we had nothing more in our mind than to point out what appeared to us the inconvenience of discussing the elements of one book of the Pentateuch apart from the rest, as Father de Hummelauer did in the Introduction to *Genesis*. For although a plausible analysis of the book into different *strata* might thus be made out, it seemed to us impossible to substantiate it when confronted with the evidence of the later books.

One thing may safely be said about the commentary on the Book of Numbers, it is anything but commonplace. Two theories contained in it cannot fail to strike the most cursory reader. (1) Father de Hummelauer seems to be so impressed with the arguments brought by hostile critics against the numbers set down in the census of the Israelites after they had left Egypt, that he feels sure some copyist or editor subsequent to Moses must have tampered with the text, increasing the numbers syste-

matically by the addition of two noughts: *e.g.*, the Rubenites, who, according to the census of Num. i., were 46,500, in reality numbered 465, and so of the rest. We say nothing of this theory. It is a bold one, and implies a good deal of tampering with the text to carry it out successfully and consistently. (2) But a more startling theory still is that which interposes a period of thirty-seven years in the middle of the eleventh verse of the 20th chapter: "And when Moses had lifted up his hand, and struck the rock twice with the rod, there came forth water in great abundance." What period intervened between the first and second striking of the rock? Thirty-seven years, replies Father Hummelauer. Thirty-seven years of general apostasy and idolatry: when the authority of Moses was completely set aside, and sacrifice to Jehovah intermitted. A period during which the Levites alone stood by the leader of the Exodus, and in which the generation which had left Egypt passed away.

Seventy pages does our author devote to the discussion of this question, endeavouring to throw light upon it from the genealogies of Paralipomenon and passages from other books of the Old Testament. Nor can any one question the learning and ingenuity which Father de Hummelauer displays in treating this part of his subject.

It would be mere affectation on our part to pretend that we have been convinced by the arguments of Father de Hummelauer. According to him, the Pentateuch at one time contained a full account of the thirty years' apostasy at Cades, and of Moses' sin, owing to which he failed to draw water from the rock at the first stroke of the rod. But this history, as not being edifying, came to be omitted in the public lections, then to be left out in the rolls. Finally, perhaps, Esdras, when he re-edited the books of Moses, drew up his edition of Numbers from a copy which had been expurgated in accordance with the ideas suggested above. The reader will see that our author's views are based very largely upon what ought to be the last resort of the expositor—conjecture. Nor is it easy to see how such very serious events, if recorded by Moses himself, could have left so little trace behind in history.

It is to be regretted that Father de Hummelauer, having undertaken such a thorough and exhaustive commentary, did not see his way more consistently to show the divergencies of the Vulgate from the Hebrew. This commentary is intended for the more advanced student, and, therefore, it is very desirable

that it should show, not merely in a general way, but with precision, how the Vulgate stands related to the Hebrew. A few instances will make our meaning clear. In Num. xvii. 17, 18, we read in the Vulgate: "Tollite singuli thuribula vestra et ponite super ea incensum, offerentes Domino ducenta quinquaginta thuribula; Aaron quoque teneat thuribulum suum. Quod cum fecissent, stantibus Moyse et Aaron, &c." The Hebrew text, though not differing much in sense, is different in form: "Take ye each man his censer, and put incense upon them, and bring ye before the Lord each man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers, thou too and Aaron, each his censer. And they took each man his censer and put fire upon them, and set incense upon them, and they stood at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation with Moses and Aaron." It is true the Vulgate gives much the same sense as the Hebrew, but in an abbreviated form. So, too (xxvii. 19), in regard to Joshua's appointment as Moses' successor, we read in the Vulgate: "Qui stabit coram Eleazaro sacerdote, &c." In the Hebrew it runs: "And thou shalt set him before Eleazar the priest, &c." These are only two instances out of very many of loose translations of the Hebrew appearing in the Vulgate. Very often such divergencies are pointed out by Father Hummelauer, always when of importance to the sense. But, it seems to us, in such a commentary as that before us, such discrepancies ought to be consistently and patiently noticed, so as to enable the student, even if unacquainted with Hebrew, to form an accurate judgment of the character of the Vulgate.

It need not be said that Father Hummelauer's commentary is a valuable one. It is full of research and learning. It does not shirk difficulties, and we do not hesitate to say that it may be read with profit, not only by Catholic students, but by those also who profess such a great contempt for Catholic scholarship and declare themselves to be disciples of the Higher Criticism alone.

J. A. H.

**Sainte Gertrude.** (Les Saints.) Par GABRIEL LEDOS. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1901.

IN the series of *Saints' Lives* brought out by Lecoffre, of which some twenty-five volumes have now appeared, it was fitting that a place should be given to the great mystic, St. Gertrude. The writer, a layman, has taken pains with the facts of her life, which, though not very numerous, are somewhat perplexing. It is a quarter of a century since the Solesmes

Benedictines, in their edition of St. Gertrude which may be called definitive, showed that St. Gertrude was not abbess of her monastery, although the real abbess had the same name. Yet we find the mistake by no means banished from respectable hagiography. It is not quite so clear that M. Ledos is right in questioning the statement of the Benedictine editors that St. Gertrude's convent of Helfta (or Helpeda) was not Cistercian, but simply Benedictine from the beginning.

The exact place of St. Gertrude in the history of Mysticism has yet to be determined. M. Ledos does not attempt a task for which the materials are not yet ready at hand. But the detailed account which he gives of her revelations, her divine communications, and her spirit, is marked both by reverential appreciation and by good sense, and is highly interesting. He brings out, in a new and convincing manner, her relations with the devotion to the Sacred Heart. It is not generally known in what a real sense she was the pioneer of a religious movement which only affected Catholicism generally some three hundred years later. St. Gertrude, for two hundred years after her death, was practically forgotten by the Church at large. Her Revelations—the “Ambassador of Divine Love,” as the well-known book is called—lay for all this time in manuscript in one or two nunneries; perhaps, indeed, it only existed in her own house, for it appears that only two MSS. are known. The Carthusian, Dom John Lanspergius, was practically the first to publish the book (1536). The Benedictine edition, however, follows a Latin MS. now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and the text is a great improvement on that of Lanspergius, who had to re-translate, for his purpose, a portion of a vernacular (German) MS. M. Ledos nowhere seems to raise the question whether the “Legatus” was originally written in Latin or in German. There appears to be no positive evidence either way; but the Benedictine editor thinks that the original was in Latin, and was all written in the Saint's lifetime. It ought, however, to be possible, by a careful philological examination of the text, to arrive at a fairly safe decision. N.

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**The Rosary Guide for Priests and People.** By the Very Rev. Father J. PROCTER, S.T.L. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1901.

**T**HIS is a little manual which no priest, and few of the laity, will be willing to be without. It is what it is called—a Guide, in every sense of the word, to the Rosary. After a



suitable Introduction, we find, first of all, in Part I., the history, the meaning, and the practice of this great Catholic devotion. In Part II. there is a very complete description of the Confraternity of the Rosary, with all details of recent legislation, plain directions for admission, an enumeration of indulgences, all particulars about the beads, and a notice of Rosary Sunday. In an Appendix to this part the writer explains the Perpetual Rosary and the Living Rosary. Part III. gives forms and documents, the rites of reception and of blessing the beads, scapular, roses, and candles, together with a number of suitable hymns. The Father Provincial complains that the Holy Rosary is much less known than it should be. This most handy manual will make it impossible to say that any longer.

N.

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**Bossuet.—Elevations à Dieu sur tous les Mystères de la Religion Chretienne.** Nouvelle edition entièrement révisée. Introduction par le R. P. LIBERCIER, de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique. Paris : P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

**T**HIS is a work of profound thought. Of his numerous productions, it is the truest reflex of Bossuet's great intellect.

The existence of God, the Trinity, creation of the universe, of the angels and of man, his temptation and fall, original sin, promise of a Redeemer, the prophecies, St. John the Baptist ; the incarnation, birth, and the most prominent periods of the life of our Lord, and the places in Palestine where He preached—such is the order of the “Elevations,” which runs to six hundred pages, brought out in Lethielleux's usually excellent type and paper, at the very moderate price of 2s. 6d.

Each subject is fathomed as far, one would think, as the human mind could reach, and clothed with a detailed light of surroundings which theological works could not afford to give. The sublime ideas, with the deep thought they create, necessarily causes slow reading, but the beautiful and practical matter well repays. Bossuet was not allowed to see this work before the world, nor did it appear until A.D. 1727, thirty years after his death, when his nephew, the Bishop of Troyes, undertook and carried out its publication. Sublime in thought, rich in sanction, and alluring in practice, it is, and will remain, a *monumentum aere perennius* of French ecclesiastical literature.

We congratulate Father Libercier on his enterprise, and wish him equal success in bringing out Bossuet's other great work, "*Méditations sur l'Evangile*," which, though previously written, comes next in order.

JN. M.

**History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Springfield.**

By the Rev. JOHN J. MCCOY, P.R. Boston : The Hurd and Everts Co. 1900.

THIS imposing and important volume is a useful monument of local historical and biographical research, reflecting the highest credit on Father McCoy's ecclesiastical sense of filial love and devotion to the Church of which he is a member, and of the diocese to which he is attached.

We have nothing but unstinted admiration for the patience and courage the author has displayed in compiling what appears to us to be a very complete history of the diocese of Springfield. Naturally, situated as we are, we cannot presume to enter into an historical criticism of its pages; we can, however, form an opinion of the object the author had in view when entering upon his stupendous task, and one also of the general way in which he has carried it out.

The volume before us gives a passing notice of the early history of the Church in America, and details, naturally, become more copious when the author enters upon the history of the nineteenth century. From the foundation of the first church in the diocese to the present day, the information appears to be as full and as exhaustive as the resources of available data could afford.

Every parish church in the diocese has its history recorded, most of them suitably illustrated. The portraits of a very large number of the bishops and clergy, who have served and are serving the diocese, are given, and appear to be remarkably well produced.

Amongst much that will interest readers on this side of the Atlantic is some very interesting information concerning Father John Cheverus, the founder of the Church of St. Francis of Sales, Tottenham, near London (in the presbytery of which his portrait is still preserved), and afterwards first Bishop of Boston. We read in Father McCoy's most interesting work that :

In 1806 John Cheverus came to Northampton (Mass.) to

prepare two men for death. They were Dominic Daley and James Halligan. They were accused of murder, and died on the gallows in the presence of fifteen thousand people (scarcely one of whom had a doubt of their guilt). Their innocence was established a quarter of a century later by the confession of a certain native of the town, who when dying admitted that he was the "murderer of the mail carrier." The inhabitants of Northampton received Father Cheverus with averted eyes. The day of the execution, in spite of the attempted hindrance of the Protestant ministers, he preached to the assembled multitude; and so much divine energy and high principle did his sermon evince, that altogether he won the hearts of the Puritans who listened. They became his friends and admirers who before had been his enemies.

In conclusion, we feel that Father McCoy is deserving of the thanks not only of his fellow diocesan clergy and laity, but of the Catholics generally, for having brought out a work which should have its counterpart in every Catholic diocese. The Church is ever making history, but there is a disinclination, widely developed on the part of those contributing to make it, to take any steps towards the recording of it. Father McCoy has shown us that it can be done, and we have good reason to hope that the excellent example of intelligent enterprise which he has given will have a stimulating effect upon those who are, or ought to be, the historiographers of other dioceses.

The volume is very properly dedicated by the author to his Bishop, Dr. D. Beaven, who is fortunate in possessing so copious, comprehensive, and up-to-date a history of the see confided to his charge.

A. G. O.

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**Un Siècle: Mouvement du Monde de 1800 a 1900.** Pp xxvi., 912. Paris: 10, Rue de Mézières, H. Oudin, Editeur

**S**TANDING, as we are, on the threshold of the twentieth century, it is but natural that we should like to look back upon the century that has passed, and see what progress has been made, and what changes have come to pass in the world around us.

Several books have been published upon this fascinating subject, but we have come across none so interesting—at least from a Catholic point of view—as this very handsome volume, published by a committee under the presidency of Mgr. Péchinard, Rector of the Institut Catholique de Paris.

As the aforesaid sentence implies, the book is not the work of one man, but of quite a number, each of whom is somewhat of an authority on what he writes. We find among the list such well-known names as the Comte Albert de Mun, M. Duchesne, M. Henri Joly, M. Brunetière, the Comte d'Haussonville, Mgr. Touchet, Évêque d'Orléans, P. Lapôtre, and others of almost equal fame.

The whole work, which runs to over nine hundred pages of closely printed matter, is divided into three sections. The first deals with the political and economic changes of the past hundred years; the second is occupied with the consideration of the intellectual progress during the same period; and the third part sets before us the religious movements that have more especially marked the course of the nineteenth century.

To these must be added a concluding chapter, from the pen of His Eminence Cardinal Richard, entitled "*Vers l'Unité*," which will be read with much pleasure and profit by all who love the Church, and desire her prosperity. We cannot forbear quoting the words in which he sums up the present situation:

"L'an 1800 s'ouvrait au milieu des guerres et des révolutions; l'Eglise traversait alors ses plus sombres journées; la mort de Pie VI. avait découronné l'arbre séculaire; quand Pie VII. parut, il semblait un bien faible rameau, que l'aigle allait arracher et emporter au loin. Mais que peut empêcher de croître ce que plante la main de Dieu? L'humble rejeton est devenu grand cèdre; il s'élève et verdoie au-dessus des vieux arbres de la forêt; si l'humanité cherche le repos, qu'elle vienne se grouper à son ombre" (p. 912).

The subjects chosen by different writers are very varied, and differ in the manner of treatment almost as much as in the matter. Some are little able to conceal their bias. Thus M. Henri Joly, in his essay on "*Governments*," and M. René Pinon, in his chapter on "*Le Partage du Monde*," clearly betray an anti-English prejudice, which is a pity in a work of this description, where one looks for judicial mind, above the strife and contentions of party or racial feeling.

There is one very serious blot. The book has no Index. The "*Table des Matières*" gives just the heading of the thirty or thirty-five chapters, with the names of the respective authors, but that is all. What is needed is an alphabetical Table of Contents, which would enable a busy man to find his way at once to every point of importance treated in the book. Such an

Index is always a great convenience ; but in these days, when books are pouring without cessation from a thousand presses, it becomes almost a necessity.

J. S. V.

**Cardiff Records.** Edited by J. HOBSON MATTHEWS. Vol. II.  
Cardiff. 1900.

THE second volume of "Cardiff Records" is quite on a level with the first, which we noticed at the time of its production.

The general style of the book is as near perfection as possible, and just as in the first portion the fac-similes of early charters called for special note, so in the second the reproductions of seals are particularly good of their kind. Mr. Hobson Matthews appears to have done his work conscientiously and well, and may well deserve the thanks of all students of this class of records, and, in particular, of the people of Cardiff. Naturally, the later history is not of so much general value as the earlier portion ; but in the part which deals with the "Calendar Rolls and Gaol Files," Catholics will find a melancholy interest in the records of the persecution their forefathers underwent so bravely for their Faith. The first example may be found under the year 1576, and Mr. Matthews tells us that the severity of the laws against members of the old religion can be traced, "with but few intervals, down to the early part of the eighteenth century." In that year the Gaol File records that the Bishop of Llandaff presented several persons within the jurisdiction of his Court. Among others is the following entry: "William Bylson, clerk, in the county of Glamorgan, for that he contumaciously absents himself from the celebration of divine service, and from his parish church, for four years past." The editor tells us that the county gaol was in 1598 crowded with Catholics, and of the prisoners committed for recusancy, or refusal to be present at the Protestant services, a "Lewis Turberville, of Llysfronydd, gentleman," died in prison, amongst other victims, carried off apparently by an attack of gaol fever. In 1602 the names of nineteen Catholics are given, who obstinately refused to conform to the religion established by law. The list includes both men and women, and, amongst others, some members of the family of Turberville, two of whom had previously died in prison.

Mr. Hobson Matthews mentions that Bundle 21, No. 17, of this series "consists almost entirely of the documents in con-

nection with the trial of two Catholic priests, Father Philip Evans, a Jesuit, and Mr. John Lloyd, a secular, both Welshmen," who were executed for their religion on July 22nd, 1679, during the anti-Catholic madness caused by the "Oates' Plot" bogus revelations. The editor notes that "although these men underwent the terrible punishment of high treason, it is important to learn, from the indictments, that what they were charged with was simply that they, being Catholic priests, 'came, were, and remained' in this country, against the form of the statute. The simple addition of the word *proditorie*, 'treasonably,' made the priests traitors. No attempt was made at their trial to convict them of actual treason, their 'proditio' was purely constructive and technical" (p. 175).

In the same class of documents there may be found many examples of the cruel treatment which the poor received in the early days of the Reformation for the sole crime of being paupers. Men and women were frequently condemned to be flogged and branded for no other reason than because they appeared to have no means of gaining a livelihood. The following quotation from the editor's appreciation of the then state of the Criminal Code of England will give a good idea of the ferociously cruel penal enactments enforced in the revision of the laws by Henry VIII.:

It was felony to steal anything of greater value than 5s., and the punishment of felony was death by hanging for men, and by drowning for women. The pettiest misdemeanours were visited with the whipping-post, the pillory, and the stocks. For petty treason (*e.g.*, for poisoning her husband) a woman was liable to be either burned or boiled. The penalty for high treason was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered—which, in plain terms, means disembowelled alive—and, as the exercising of the functions of a Catholic priest was by statute declared to be high treason, this was the punishment allotted to clergymen of the ancient Church in this country. Altogether, the England of the Tudors was an uncomfortable abode for persons placed, either by conscience or criminality, in a position of antagonism to the laws.

The editor prints (p. 253) a document from the Gaol Files of the Court of Great Sessions, which is interesting as being a record of the incident of the Test Act in 1808. The parchment in question is a certificate signed by the minister and churchwardens of the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Cardiff, that "Richard Crawshay, of Cyfartha, Esquire," had duly qualified himself for public office by partaking of the Communion according to the rites of the Established Church.

We have said enough to show that the curious reader, even if he be not specially interested in Cardiff, will find a good deal to repay a search into Mr. Hobson Matthews' handsome volume. Those who like to understand times now past and gone, as well as those who do not find old accounts dull reading, will find a delightful chapter in "Mr. Thomas Morgan's Commonplace Book," which presents an entertaining picture of the life of a country gentleman of modest means in the eighteenth century.

F. A. G.

**A Review of Irish History.** By J. P. GANNON. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1900.

TO pass in review the facts of Irish history from Parthalon to Parnell is no light task; and when this is done within the compass of a small volume of 280 pages, the review must, of necessity, be hurried, fragmentary, and superficial. Nor does the author of this volume claim that it is more. His professed object is to explain the contrast presented between the condition of Ireland—dependent and poverty-stricken as she is—with the undoubted high intelligence of her people; and it is by the light of Irish history, and in the examination of its facts, that the explanation is sought. Each of the six chapters into which the book is divided deals with a distinct period of history. In a rapid survey the author brings out the special characteristics of each period, notes the principal facts, and, with ability and accuracy, traces effects back to the causes from which they sprang. He does not give the various authorities for his statements of fact, but he is evidently familiar with the materials from which Irish history is written; and one will seek in vain in these pages for either inaccuracy or extravagance of statement. His conclusion is that the condition of Ireland is due to a number of concurring causes (which he enumerates), any one of which would be insufficient, but all of which, taken together, are quite sufficient to bring about the effect produced, and, further, would have produced similar results in the case of any other people.

Books dealing with Irish history are often characterised by being heavy, dull, and uninteresting. To all such this volume is in pleasant contrast. What Mr. Gannon has to say he has the art of saying well. He writes clearly and agreeably, is never harsh, jerky, or abrupt, and the passages which may be called beautiful and eloquent are not few. There is not a dull page in the book from the first one to the last.

E. A. D.

[No. 38 of *Fourth Series*.]



**Clovis** : ouvrage auquel l'Institut de France a accordé le 1er prix d'Antiquités nationales. Deuxième édition. Par GODEFROID KURTH. Paris: Victor Retaux, 82, Rue Bonaparte.

**T**HE difficulties of an historian vary with his position relative to the age with which he deals. He who seeks to assign their due proportion to contemporary events amidst which he himself was an actor, has certain obvious advantages over him whose sole materials are dry records, but is apt to magnify the details of his immediate surroundings to the detriment of historic perspective. Where the period is more remote the disturbing element of the personal equation takes another form, that of unwarranted, if often ingenious, inference. Where, as in the case of barbarous races, the records are few, meagre, and unreliable, still larger scope is left for the abuse of the historic imagination.

We make these remarks not as the preface to a charge against the author of this work, but in order to emphasise the particular difficulties he has had to contend with, and which he has, on the whole, met very fairly.

He deals with that period in the life of the French people when it was passing through the penumbra between myth and history, where tracts of deepest shadow are sometimes relieved by isolated points of light. The materials for the history of Clovis and his times are of this disjointed and unsatisfactory order. The mythical portion of them is contained in the Frankish legends; the historical, such as it is, in the pages of ecclesiastical and Imperial chroniclers. The latter, however, confine themselves for the most part to casual and incidental references to the doings of the barbarous races beyond the Rhine and in the North of Gaul, and then only so far as they come into contact with the Empire. It is not difficult to understand their point of view. They, no doubt, regarded the policies, jealousies and quarrels of the rival chieftains, and even their raids into Roman territory, with the same contemptuous superiority as that which Englishmen have for those of native African tribes. To the Roman the Empire was the world, not only of the present, but of the future. He could not imagine anything beyond it. The same limitation of outlook is one of the inevitable defects of all contemporary historians, though in such a case as this it is increased by the particular circumstances. How were they to know the enormous

consequences of the invasions of these Frankish hordes ; that these, the apparent result of blind and savage impulse, of the lust of war and booty, should lay the foundations—physical, moral, and religious—of a new and mighty nation, should inaugurate a new era ? Perhaps, if they had been able to foresee these issues, they would have left more complete records.

But other causes contributed to the same result. As the Imperial power shrunk in Gaul from the twofold cause of the decay of the Empire and the inrush of young and vigorous barbaric races, arts and letters naturally declined, and the records and marks of the older civilisation were to some extent destroyed and obliterated. Here, as in so many other instances, it was to the Church, and especially to the regular clergy, that we owe such traces of it as have survived, by which students like M. Kurth have been enabled to piece together the fragments, as it were, of an ancient vase or the skeleton of an extinct animal, and to supply the lacunæ by ingenious guesses or well-founded inference. It is obvious that this is all that the circumstances allow, and, though the historic imagination is not warranted in going contrary to facts, it finds its legitimate sphere in supplying missing links. This is, indeed, necessary if the history is to be anything more than a dry and disconnected chronicle. But between the Charybdis of unlimited conjecture and the Scylla of bare and barren recital M. Kurth has steered with considerable skill. It was, perhaps, inevitable that he should have occasionally been drawn out of the ideal course, but such divagations are neither serious nor frequent. The work is, on the whole, a happy combination of historic insight with critical acumen. Where he uses doubtful matter, as is often unavoidable, or where he selects one out of several conflicting authorities, he is careful to estimate its exact value in relation to the rest, and to give the reasons for his choice. Such conclusions are reached, as a rule, without undue straining of facts or apparent bias. Where he supplies by conjecture the absence of data, his theory is nearly always consistent and in harmony with the known facts, though there be a possible alternative. The same may be said of the work as a whole. It presents a clear-cut and harmonious picture of this most obscure and important period in French history, beginning with the origins of the Merovingian dynasty and ending with the death of Clovis. Though that picture is necessarily incomplete, we have here at least a distinct and symmetrical outline, in which certain well-established features

find their proper place and the conjectural shading is appropriate in due gradation and proportion.

M. Kurth recognises fully throughout his work the immensely important part played by the Church, both in preserving the remains of the old, and in shaping the future of the new civilisation. And he makes this tribute in no niggard spirit. A genuine and unaffected religious sentiment is unobtrusively manifest throughout the work. This, though not commonly held to be a necessary quality in an historian, is surely of the highest advantage in bringing him into sympathetic touch with the *ethos* of those primitive races whose religion belonged to their very marrow and animating principle. It is this sympathy, conjoined with painstaking research and cool judgment, together with the other necessary qualifications of the historian, which has enabled M. Kurth to present us with a work combining high historic value with that note of vivid life and human interest that never fail throughout his pages.

In two or three instances only does M. Kurth permit himself to set aside by an *a priori* judgment his only available sources of information. One of these has a certain degree of importance, in that it affects our estimate of the character of Clovis. He rejects the tradition which credits the King with a murder committed in order to obtain possession of the Ripuarian kingdom. Yet this tradition is contained in the chronicles of Gregory of Tours, the same authority on which he relies for a large part of his material. Nor does he adduce the testimony of a single writer, either in denial of the story in its present form or in support of his own suggested explanation of the circumstances. He does, indeed, point out very forcibly the internal inconsistencies and incongruities of the traditional account. But this form of argument is not conclusive against the substantial truth of a narrative which owed its origin to various witnesses and took its shape in an uncritical age. Such criticism, if strictly applied, would, as in Whateley's disproof of the existence of Napoleon, have very far-reaching effects.

The reviewer feels full sympathy with the desire of M. Kurth to present Clovis as a Christian king, not only *sans peur*, but also *sans reproche*; the desire to imagine him somewhat in that light of a saint in which he appeared to the devout imagination of a later age. But this very desire, which is so plainly manifest in our author's pages, should have put him on his guard against its influence over his judgment. Clovis had, after all, been reared

amidst pagan surroundings, and the supposition that his nature was immediately and completely changed by baptism is quite unwarranted. M. Kurth acknowledges as historical, though with attempted palliation, two acts of savage brutality committed by his hero, the one before, the other after, baptism. It is, therefore, not improbable that the story may be true, and that Clovis did yield to the temptation of removing, by foul means, an obstacle to his ambition. It would not, unfortunately, be a solitary instance of such an act on the part of a Christian.

Perhaps this may have been that secret sin (secret, because not openly spoken of) which the man of God discovered to him, and of which he forthwith repented, as M. Kurth tells us. Any way, it is impossible not to feel that here our author forsakes the rôle of the historian for that of the advocate. Even if the story be regarded as of doubtful authenticity, the most favourable verdict can be no more than "not proven." To say "not guilty," is to go beyond the evidence.

Apart from this possible blot on his Christian career, Clovis was a generous foe, a liberal friend to the Church, and, in broad contrast to many of his ancient and modern successors, conspicuous for his marital fidelity. Further, he seems to have been not only a great warrior, but also—judged rather by the permanent results of his policy than its scanty records—a wise and far-seeing statesman. M. Kurth is careful throughout to make constant references to and quotations from his authorities. He refers to his original sources of information at greater length in the Appendices.

A few maps, setting forth the chief stages of Frankish advance into and domination over Gaul, would be a great assistance to the reader. Though the ground covered by them cannot be traced with scientific accuracy, yet some indication might thus be given of their positions, and those of the neighbouring tribes, in relation to the Empire at the most critical stages covered by the work.

H. C. C.

**The Birthplace of St. Patrick.** By the Very Rev. S. MALONE, P.P., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Browne & Nolan; M. H. Gill & Son. 1900.

WE know that many places have contended for the honour of being Homer's birthplace, but where he was born is still uncertain, and likely to remain so. In the case of St. Patrick, a somewhat similar state of things exists, for the

question has often been asked where he was born, but the answer in every case has not been the same. Father Malone asks the question afresh, and has written this little work of nearly 170 pages to supply the answer. His opinion is that St. Patrick was born at Usktown, in Monmouthshire. He examines in detail the various other opinions held, refutes the arguments by which they are sustained, and then, regarding his own theory as the survival of the fittest, triumphantly exclaims that it holds the field. With those who hold a different view he has not much patience, and uses some strong language in their regard. A writer who contends for the neighbourhood of Dumbarton he describes as having begun in presumption and ended in absurdity; the arguments of another writer in favour of North Wales he calls "mere gibberish"; and an article written by another writer, who favours a Spanish birthplace, he designates "a literary freak." Strong language does not always indicate a good case; and, even after reading this little volume, it is not unlikely that many will still favour the opinion of Cardinal Moran, that St. Patrick was born at Dumbarton, if for no other reason because of the weight of authority by which that opinion is sustained. But while we do not think that the author's opinion will become generally accepted, we are certain his little work will repay perusal, and will be of special interest to the historical student. His learning and ability are not to be denied: to prove his case he has brought his materials from near and far, and has used them with the skill of a practised hand; and if he does not convince others, there is no doubt he is convinced himself.

E. A. D.

**Souvenirs Politiques du Comte de Salaberry sur La Restauration.** Publiés pour la Société d'histoire Contemporaine. Par le Comte DE SALABERRY, son petit-fils. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils.

THE first duty of an historian is, as far as possible, to ascertain the true facts and to endeavour to present them in their proper relations: the second, to draw his inferences. To do these impartially, more especially the latter, the personal equation, which can never be eliminated, must be reduced as far as possible.

Though the contemporary historian may have great advan-

tages as an eye-witness, especially if behind the scenes, it is, for several reasons, more difficult for him than for one who depends on past records, to secure this necessary detachment. Nevertheless, useful work of this kind can be done by those whose opportunities, accuracy of observation, and soundness of judgment are alike exceptional. And even such as are deficient in these two qualities may collect important facts unknown to the general public.

Judged by the stricter standard, the present volumes certainly cannot be classed as history; while, in respect of the last, they must also be pronounced a failure. They are, indeed, what the title proclaims them to be—mere political reminiscences—and, as such, are altogether out of place in a series of "Contemporary History."

They are practically a collection of political pamphlets written by a violent partisan, in which strong expressions and abuse of opponents are prominent features throughout. When the writer condescends to argument, this is based upon the axiom that "the King can do no wrong." As a necessary deduction, he never wearies of pointing out the iniquity and folly of an opposition, Royalist or otherwise. The Chambers have but to register the decrees of the Sovereign. Similarly, the Press, if it ventures in any degree to criticise the Government, must be muzzled.

Some of the choice epithets which the writer constantly applies to his political opponents—mostly Royalist—are *niais* and *malins*. With equal persistency he claims "l'homme impartial et bien intentionné" and "tous les hommes de bonne-foi" as necessarily in agreement with his views. He claims to appeal to facts as distinguished from *commérages*; but, for all that, a large proportion consists of the gossip of the lobbies, of the opinions and quarrels of obscurities long since forgotten.

Nor is the publication in any way redeemed by literary style. The sentences are often (sometimes portentously) long, and nearly always involved; the language broken and harsh, and very far from classical.

However, there are two respects in which the work may be not without its uses. The first is that it supplies contemporary witness to the strength of the reaction against absolutism in all classes, to the seething discontent and disaffection which was steadily swelling during the latter part of the reign of Louis XVIII. and that of Charles X.

But its chief value consists in affording a study of a psycho-

logical condition in the writer with which most people will now find it impossible to sympathise and difficult even to imagine. This concrete exposition of monarchical *intransigence* will, better than any sober history, enable the reader to realise the almost mechanical inevitableness of the crisis that followed, though the lesson is but poor compensation for the task of wading through these dreary pages. There is no Preface, and the biographical notice does not mention the time or circumstances under which the souvenirs were written—surely a grave omission. We are left in doubt as to whether they were written concurrently with the events or at a later period of the Count's life. In the latter case it would be difficult to understand why they should break off on the very threshold of the crisis to which the events narrated had been tending, without any reference to it whatever. The only possible explanation would, in such case, appear to be, that the Count naturally shrank from recording facts, though necessary to the completion of his story, which so entirely stultified his favourite theory of the value of suppression of opinion. But in this case it would be still more difficult to guess why the volumes were published at all, especially in their present connection. As MS. records, they might possibly have furnished a few grains of fact to an historian who thought it worth while to winnow them from the preponderating chaff.

H. C. C.

**Quelques Lettres Inédites de l'Abbé de Salamon.** Par le Vicomte DE RICHEMONT. Rome: Imprimerie de la Paix, Philippe Cuggiani, 35, Via della Pace.

THE writer of these letters was the confidential correspondent of the Holy See in Paris throughout the first Revolution, in the absence of the Papal Nuncio. They form part of a series discovered in the archives of the Vatican, of which the present editor has already given the larger portion to the public. The letters here published are few in number, comprising no more than half a dozen written by the Abbé and a fragment by a correspondent unknown. But their importance does not depend upon quantity, since they supply the commencement of the semi-official correspondence in 1791 and its close in 1797. The contents are of considerable interest, and show how, during this chaotic period, the Pope was kept well informed of the



course of events by his zealous agent. It must have required both courage and circumspection to fulfil such a mission, when so great hostility was aroused against the Church on account of its connection with the old order, and in which so many priests fell victims to revolutionary fury. The Abbé *did* not escape it altogether. He was twice imprisoned and suffered the loss of all his possessions, while, though actually present at the September massacres, he was saved "as by a miracle." This reference occurs in his last letter here published, which is addressed to the Abbé Bacqué. In this letter he writes, after the appointment of a new Pope had somewhat obscured his past relations with the Holy See, to call to mind the evidences of those relations and their character, together with his sufferings in the cause. The particular details which he furnishes in these regards give the letter a special importance in the series.

Naturally, the relations of the Church to the Revolution in its successive phases constitute a large part of the subject-matter of his communications. This one sentence speaks volumes, when, referring to the condition of the Church throughout nearly the whole of France, he says: "On ne fait plus, depuis près de dix ans, ni ordinations, ni saintes huiles, ni confirmations." It was certainly a great proof of the Church's vitality that she came through the tremendous ordeal, if not unscathed, at least triumphant.

H. C. C.

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**Cithara Mea.** By the Rev. P. A. SHEEHAN. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1900.

**T**HIS dainty volume is in every way worthy of the literary reputation earned by the reverend author of "My New Curate." We are glad to welcome another priestly singer to the little band of those who have contributed to the verse-music of the nineteenth century, melodies mostly set to sacred utterances. The religious spirit in Father Sheehan's poems is rather an underlying influence modifying the modern tendency to querulous complaint than a direct motive inspiring the theme as well as its manner of treatment. The volume is in no sense one of devotional verse, but such as might be written by any layman whose attitude of mind was determined by strong religious convictions. Thus the two first and most important pieces, "The Hidden" and "The Revealed," embody the questioning spirit of the age in its fearless search into the

inscrutable, while supplying the answer that faith alone can give to the eternal quest of the exiled soul. In a series of stately quatrains the poet deals with the highest problems with which modern science perplexes the human mind, in a spirit exemplified in the following stanzas :

"We know Thou'rt round about us—that this air  
With all Thy thought-waves heaves and palpitates ;  
That Thy most sacred presence, and most fair  
Beholds the evolution of our fates.

"But our vain senses vex us with their cry,  
Importunate 'gainst whims of blinded chance,  
And the wide wings of reason ache to fly,  
Unhappy from their dread exorbitance.—

"The dread dissatisfaction Thou hast wrought  
Into the folds of brain,—the sheathed soul ;  
For all the calm and gentle gods of thought  
Struggle for freedom from the base control

"Of time, and sense, and space—

\* \* \* \* \*

"For what is space but one vast black abyss  
Darkened by tortured giants, blindly hurled,  
Pierced here and there by some sun taper's hiss  
That casts a pallid gleam on its slave world.

"I cannot see Thee there ; for space is Hell,—  
Hell, with its million mills that tortured roll ;  
And Time's the warder with his clanging bell,  
And suns the lamps that light man's dreadful dole."

In "The Revealed" comes the second part, giving an answer, from the mystery of faith to the otherwise insoluble mystery of nature. Here the gropings of the spirit find the intangible purpose that sense seeks in vain, and from the quest for which science recoils baffled for ever.

"Yet Faith must lead thee where the Fancy fails ;  
Lo ! the clouds part around His sandalled feet.  
Higher my soul ! behold the folded veils  
Draw back in mercy from the mercy-seat.

"God's vesture curves and floats around His throne,  
As float ensanguined clouds at eventide :  
His Heaven is thickly peopled ; yet alone  
In their majestic solitude abide

"The Holy Ones. No angel wing hath swept  
The golden dust of all the centuries,  
Or tears the lonely aeons have bewept,  
And sunk in silence of eternities.

"There where His footstool stretches through the cloud ;  
 Yet, the vast silences of God are stirred  
 By all the pauseless waves that cry aloud  
 In anthems that afar are feebly heard,

"Although the orbèd Heaven reels and quakes  
 Under the thunders that are ever rolled  
 From shrill-voiced spirits o'er the quivering lakes  
 Of spaces populous, or of worlds unsouled."

"A Nocturne" is in a form novel, as far as we know, in a continuous poem, as it consists of a sequence of twelve fine sonnets, telling of a vision or dream of one long dead, with all the memories and associations it has called up from the past. In "Tristesse" we have a most graceful lyric in the same minor key of questioning sadness that seems the author's favourite mood. Two legendary narrative pieces, "Sentan, the Culdee," and "Gachla, the Druidess," show a considerable command of blank verse and the rare power of setting a story to its unrhymed music.

E. M. C

**My New Curate.** By the Rev. P. A. SHEEHAN, P.P. London and Leamington : Art and Book Company. 1900.

THE secret by which the writer, the artist in words, lays hold of our sympathies on behalf of his fictitious personages defies analysis. Here we have the simplest material, the doings of a remote parish on the coast of Ireland, and lo ! the literary world rings with it, and edition after edition—that which we are reviewing is the eighth—is called for by successive hosts of readers. The plot is of the slightest, and the interest centres round the two principal characters : the old parish priest, wise with the grave lessons of life ; and the young curate, full of zeal and energy, eager to plant and reap a harvest of good, and overlooking in his impetuosity the obstacles that hinder the would-be reformer in all countries, but most of all in Ireland. His spiritual ministrations, indeed, are fruitful, but the inertia of the national character bring his schemes of social amelioration tumbling about his ears in ruin and disaster. This is the little parable on which the story is built ; but it is in its mixture of pathos and humour, and, above all, in the power of character portrayal evinced in the presentation of the *dramatis personæ*, that the fascination of the volume consists. This attains its highest level in the realisation of "Father Dan," the elder priest, who is

himself the narrator of this episode in his life. Both priests are Greek scholars, and get upon their favourite topic early in their acquaintance.

"What do you think of this?" asks the elder. "It is a loose translation from Posidippus."

"It swings well," said Father Letheby. "But who was he?"

"One of the gnomic or sententious poets," I replied.

"Greek or Latin?" he asked.

Then I succumbed.

"You never heard his name before?" I said.

"Never," said he emphatically.

I paused and reflected.

"The Bishop told me," I said, "that you were a great Greek scholar, and took a medal in Greek composition."

"The Bishop told me," he said, "that you were the best Greek scholar in Ireland, with the exception, perhaps, of a Jesuit Father in Dublin."

We looked at each other, then burst simultaneously into a fit of laughter, the like of which had not been heard in that room for many a day.

"I am not sure," I said, "about his Lordship's classical attainments; but he knows human nature well."

The relations between the old priest and his flock are realised with a rare combination of humour and tenderness, nor are any scenes more graceful than those in which he is shown among the little children, to whom he is "Daddy Dan."

A deputation of the little ones arrives on a wet and stormy Thursday night, and are reluctantly shown in by the old house-keeper.

"Well, what's up now?" I said turning round.

"'Tis the way we wants to go to confession, Fader."

"Hallo! Are ye going to die to-night, that ye are in such a mighty hurry?"

"No, Fader, but to-morrow is the fust Friday."

"Indeed! so it is. What has that to do with it?"

"But we are all making the Nine Fridays, Fader; and if we break wan, we must commence all over again."

"Well, run down to Father Letheby; he'll hear you."

"Father Letheby is in his box, Fader; and"—here there was a little smile and a fingering of the pinafores—"we'd rader go to you, Fader."

I took the compliment for what it was worth. The Irish race appear to have kissed the Blarney Stone *in globo*.

"And have you no pity on a poor old man, to take him out this dreadful night down to that cold church, and keep him there till ten or eleven o'clock to-night?"

"We won't keep you long, Fader. We were at our juty last month."

"All right, get away, and I'll follow you quickly. Mind your preparation."

"All right, Fader."

"Tisn't taking leave of your seven sinses you are, going down to that cowl'd chapel this awful night," said Hannah, when she had closed the door on the children. "Wisha thin, if I knew what them whipsters wanted, 'tis long before they crossed the thrishol of the door. Nine Fridays, begor! As if the Brown Scaffler and the first Friday of the month wasn't enough for them. And here I'll be now, for the rest of the winter, cooking your coughs and cowl'ds."

Hannah's complaint was not altogether an unreasonable one, and is entirely in character.

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**The Romance of a Vocation.** By ALEYDIS INGLESANT.  
London : Burns & Oates. 1900.

THE vocation of Camilla Valery had to surmount many obstacles from the opposition of others, as well as from the temporary failure of her own resolve, before she found peace in the cloister. In her, as her story is told here, the determination to become a nun preceded her conversion to Catholicism, and was formed in early girlhood, before the trials or temptations of the world had come upon her. Her home atmosphere was most unsympathetic to her aspirations, and the first step, her proposed change of religion, encountered the most bitter opposition. But a more insidious cause of hesitation is the surrender of her affections to a young man with whom she is brought into contact in the house of a friend, and whose attentions she encourages in ignorance of what her feelings really signify. When turned out of her mother's house on her conversion, she not unnaturally thinks of a possible marriage with him as a refuge in her abandonment, and contemplates throwing herself on the proffered protection of a husband as the only course open to her. The discovery of his utter worthlessness is made in time to save her from this step, and in the reaction and misery that follow she finds an asylum in the convent, where the friendship of the Sisters had first developed her vocation. This is the summary of the story narrated in the volume before us with a charm that holds us until we have pursued it to the end. Camilla's feelings and struggles are admirably realised, and we are made to feel how uncongenial is

the atmosphere of a home pervaded by the undiluted spirit of worldliness to a nature like hers.

Mrs. Valery [we are told] was of an untender nature. She was one of those women who love flattery and believe it. If anything that was said could possibly be construed into a compliment, she took it as such : admiration of anything connected with her she twisted until it had a personal signification ; and she would often repeat remarks, made originally in quite another sense, as if they redounded to her credit.

That contact with this hard and cold character should have made Camilla grasp eagerly at the first proffer of love, to fill the void in her heart, was not to be wondered at ; nor that the bitter sense of its inadequacy should have thrown her back upon her earlier aspirations.

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**A Troubled Heart.** By CHARLES WARREN STODDARD.  
Indiana : *The Ave Maria*. (Undated.)

THE reading of these pages should inspire all Catholics born in the Faith with a sense of profound thankfulness at having been spared such experiences as they recount. They may be described as the autobiography of a soul in search of truth, a *Via Veritatis*, in which the goal is reached only after long and weary wandering. Even in the childhood of the writer a religion rather of fear than love aggravated the nervous tremors to which a temperament, as we gather, of exceptional susceptibility to imaginary terrors, laid him open. A happy home, loving parents, and affectionate brothers and sisters still left his heart unsatisfied, a prey to the fears with which his fancy peopled solitude. The weekly service on the Sabbath, with its long weariness of prayers and sermon, was a penance looked forward to with dread from Sunday to Sunday.

A vacation visit to his Grandfather F——, a New England farmer of Puritan type, brought the boy in contact with the unhealthy excitement of a Revivalist Mission, and from its atmosphere of religious extravagance he was removed to the surroundings of the most directly opposite character, in the home of his Grandfather S——, where religion, except as a Sunday interlude, was little heard of. After this experience of contrasting creeds in early life, he was, when older, set adrift with all varieties of sects to choose from.

The state of unbelief [he says] in which so many whom I have known have complacently settled themselves has always

seemed to me the most uncomfortable of all spiritual conditions; indeed, it is a condition which is totally wanting in spirituality. A firm conviction of some sort was absolutely necessary to my happiness. I felt that I *must* believe something. However, to tell the whole truth, it did not then seem to me to matter very much what I believed. I began a search after truth, or what I thought to be truth; and my search at least was an honest one. I knew God to be the source of all truth. I desired to worship Him; and as He was worshipped after one fashion or another in the many and various churches of the city, I wandered from house to house like a weary spirit, seeking that absolute rest which I had never known.

Unitarianism, Methodism, Episcopalianism, were tried in turn, and all found wanting. A meeting under the auspices of Moody and Sankey filled him with disgust, and Spiritualism was found to be a tissue of imposture.

Love of music first attracted him to a Catholic church, and the service, heard from the organ-loft by favour of one of the musicians, delighted him before he could understand it.

I was groping in the dark [he says] when a little light threw a ray across my path, suddenly, unexpectedly, as if a star had fallen. One day, on the mantelpiece in our dining-room—shall I ever forget that mantel, or the corner of it on which the wee book, in its brown paper cover, was lying!—I found a copy of "The Poor Man's Catechism." . . . I at once took it away to my chamber and began to read it.

This was the turning-point, for as he read conviction filled him, and he was in heart a Catholic from that hour.

Circumstances again favoured him; for, while hesitating in doubt and trepidation, uncertain of the next step, it was made easy for him by a casual meeting with a Catholic lady, through whom he was introduced to a priest.

The subsequent stages of his conversion are very touchingly and simply described in a fashion which will, no doubt, come home to many who have gone through a similar experience. Although in his immediate family he met with nothing but the sweetest kindness and consideration, he encountered much social obloquy from friends and acquaintances, some of whom refused to recognise him, while others openly expressed their disapprobation. Gradual estrangement from all was the result, and the old associations of his life were completely broken. New friends, on the other hand, one would fain hope, have not been wanting to him, and in the readers of this little volume he will at least have a host of sympathisers.



**Studies in European Literature.** (Taylorian Lectures. 1889—1899.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1900.

**M**ODERN European criticism is represented in this volume by a thoroughly typical selection. Professor Dowden on "Literary Criticism in France," the late Walter Pater on "Prosper Mérimée," Mr. William Rossetti on "Leopardi," and Mr. Rolleston on "Lessing and Modern German Literature," are followed, in French, by Stéphane Mallarmé on "La Musique et les Lettres," by Morel-Fatio on "L'Espagne du Don Quixote," and by Paul Bourget on "Gustave Flaubert." The other essays are "Paolo Sarpi," by Professor Brown; "Goethe's Italian Journey," by Professor Herford; "The Spanish Rogue Story," by Mr. Henry Butler Clarke, M.A.; and "Boccaccio," by Professor Ker. As a literary curiosity one turns to glance at a specimen of so distinguished a decadent as Stéphane Mallarmé, but a brief experiment sends one to some less involved exponent of æsthetic conceits. It may be possible that some French readers can understand the obscurities of this light of modern letters, but few English readers will be able to fathom the meaning of his sphinx-like utterances. A very interesting essay is that of Morel-Fatio on "The Spain of Don Quixote," in which he shows to how large an extent we can reconstruct the social condition and popular life at the time of Cervantes from the pages of his inimitable romance. Naturally, it is the life of the highways and byways that passes before our eyes in the adventures of the errant knight; but how much of that of the country is reflected in them, how full a background of other scenes is suggested by those actually depicted, are fully demonstrated in the writer's pages.

Another Spanish subject is treated in the "Rogue Story," or "Novela de Picaros," thoroughly saturated also with the national character.

The picaresque, then [says the essayist], is a by-product of society, and his story is a peculiar form of the novel of manners and adventures. It is generally autobiographical, and its chief merit, over and above its literary and artistic worth, lies in the inimitable picture it presents of the inner life of an age—of a tenth that is submerged, but that finds no discomfort in submersion.

The popularity of its earliest and most characteristic exemplar in Spain, "Lazarillo de Tormes," published in the middle of the

sixteenth century, was due to the reaction from the artificial style previously prescribed for literature and poetry. The public was sick of the imaginary woes of princesses and cavaliers, and found in the first naturalistic novel a delightful change from the stilted, worn-out forms of current production. Hence the immediate and lasting success of a tale which, with the utmost simplicity and directness, dealt with actual life and ordinary human beings instead of the impossible creations of mythology and fable.

Professor Ker's essay on "Boccaccio" is principally devoted to his relations with Petrarch, as shown in the correspondence that passed between them. He remarks very shrewdly that neither Italian poet depends for his fame on the present value of his writings.

They have [he says] imposed their story on the world, their hopes, interests, ambitions, and good intentions. Like Erasmus and Rousseau, they are known to the world, and esteemed by the world without very much direct and immediate knowledge of their writings.

This, perhaps, is true of most classics whom the general public accept on the faith of the estimation in which they are held by scholars.

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**Fun and Frolic.** Fourteen new Plays and Saynètes for School Entertainments. By FRANCES ISABELLE KERSHAW. London: Burns & Oates, Limited, 28, Orchard Street, W. Pp. 128. Price 2s.

"**FUN AND FROLIC**" are, indeed, the characteristic notes of the little volume that bears them for its title. The authoress evidently loves the little ones that have been placed under her charge, and in the production of these twelve short pieces she has done a good work for which all children, and guardians of children, who are so fortunate as to come across it, will be deeply grateful.

Some of the pieces are purely mirthful; others, while affording merriment, do not fail forcibly to point some very practical moral; while others, again, draw the children sweetly to a love of the Divine Child and of His Blessed Mother, and awaken in them a love of the virtues of which their beautiful flowers are the recognised symbol.

[No. 38 of *Fourth Series*.]

The plays are for the children, and the authoress has admirably adapted both style and language so as to make them interesting and attractive to them. There are several well-arranged choral pieces in the book.

E. G.

**The World Well Lost.** By ESTHER ROBERTSON. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1898.

**A**N autobiographical form is given here to the story of the training of a soul through much suffering to a higher life. We find the heroine a spoiled and wilful child, whose father, a well-to-do farmer, lives at the foot of a mountain near Tiononti, in a rural part of America. The first trials of Louisa Trudelle are especially hard to bear, as they come from the tyranny of a servant, who rules the house with a rod of iron after her mother's death. The struggles of her passionate temper only increase her sufferings, as her selfish father is completely dominated by the capable housekeeper, on whom all the comfort of his home depends. Jane's cure for insubordination was severe but effectual.

She lifted me [says the victim] in her strong arms, while I was still struggling, screaming, and striking at her, quite beside myself for the time, and carrying me across the room, she suddenly dipped me head first into the cistern of ice-cold spring water, which was constantly running in the corner of our kitchen.

"Have you had enough of it?" she asked, as she drew me gasping and choking from the water. I made no sign, as, indeed, I was quite unable to. Trembling and shaking from head to foot, I clung to her, trying to beg for mercy, but I could not from the choking convulsions in my throat.

"More, then, is it?" she added, and down I went again, with both head and arms completely under. Barney stood by. The old man was begging and expostulating, and I think that even Jane herself was frightened at the result, for she asked for no more submission, but bore me, wet and dripping, to my room, and after a vigorous rubbing and slapping, she rolled me in a heavy blanket, far more completely silent and submissive than she could wish.

Growing up under the rod of this fiend, the girl is disciplined externally rather than in disposition, and her ill-regulated spirit leads to the permanent estrangement of her father. In a hospital kept by nuns she eventually finds a new life, and is won by kindness and charity to enter the community, and end her stormy career in the novitiate.

**The Queen's Page.** By KATHARINE TYNAN HINKSON. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1900.

THE glamour of Court life must always have a fascination for young readers, especially when described by a pen so skilled in making the past live again as that of Mrs. Hinkson. The youthful page whose fortunes we follow in this pretty volume has his lot cast in the troublous times of Charles I., when fidelity to Royalty was not the high road to temporal prosperity. In point of fact, our hero, Sir Lancelot Tregarthen, has not long entered the service of the unfortunate Henrietta Maria when she has to leave Court and capital to lead a wandering life, either with the Royal troops on the march, or as a fugitive seeking refuge with her own family in France. There is, accordingly, plenty of adventure and excitement in Mrs. Hinkson's volume, since it is only in the disguise of Roundheads that Queen and page succeed in breaking through the toils closing round them. At one time, indeed, the page falls into the hands of the rebels, and is carried a prisoner into their camp.

I was then taken down from the horse [he proceeds to tell his story], and still partly bound was led within the tent.

At a table in the midst sat a man writing. For a minute or two no sound was there other than the scratching of his quill. Then he pushed away his papers, turned his chair about, and faced us. It was Sir Thomas Fairfax. Now was I amazed at the ravages war had wrought in his face. He had aged much since our last meeting, and he looked so careworn, so anxious, and so haggard that I rued it, albeit he had been seduced by those hypocrites, and had fought against the King.

"We have met before, Sir," he said, eyeing me narrowly.

"At the 'Three Posts' Inn, near to Reading, some seven years ago come next May," I answered him.

"Ah, yes," he said, "you are Sir Lancelot Tregarthen," and he smiled faintly to himself.

Among the advantages of an interesting tale like this, is that it gives a fresh interest to history, and lures the young student on to follow up the threads broken short off after brief glimpses of the olden time.

**Little Missy.** By MARY T. WAGGANAN, New York : Benziger Brothers. 1900.

THE charm of this pretty story will be enhanced to English readers of all ages by the American scenery and surroundings amid which it is laid. Virginia, "The Old Dominion," where most of the action is carried on, has a past full of the

romance of history, with those lingering traditions of aristocracy which still save it from the universal dollar standard of society in the Eastern cities. Hither our little heroine, Nettie Lewis, the descendant of an old planter family ruined by the war, finds her way for a joyous vacation as the guest of a schoolfellow met at a convent where they have had happy days together. Nettie does not know that Cedarcroft, her present abode, is close to the estate of her mother's family, the Peytons, and is much surprised to be taken possession of by an old black mammy, who, in her half demented state, believes her to be her own young mistress (her little Missy) come back. The old retainer's attachment to the family, and contempt for the "free niggers" who have never been slaves, is quite true to life. There is another girl guest, who plays a double part, and by her duplicity in trying to conceal her low origin and home poverty, nearly brings about a catastrophe, in which Nettie, too, is involved. The rescue of the girls from their perilous position—effected through the instrumentality of old Kiz—is the means of Nettie's restoration to her former position; as the family plantation, whither she is carried in an unconscious condition, proves to be in possession of a long-lost lover of her kind, Aunt Polly, and a happy marriage puts an end to the estrangement of years. All these various happenings are vivified by bright conversations and equally bright descriptions of such gay doings as children and grown-up people love to read about, transporting them for the moment into a pleasant fairyland, where there are ponies and picnics, dances and junketings without stint. No little girl could have a prettier or more suitable birthday or Christmas present than this tale of sunny Old Virginia, where the red ravage of war is beginning to be forgotten and a new life to be rebuilt on the wreckage of the past.

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**An English Miscellany.** Presented to Dr. FURNIVALL, in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. MDCCCCL.

WHEN the friends of Dr. Furnivall were engaged in celebrating his seventy-fifth birthday, in the February of last year, they were certainly well-advised in taking a leaf from our German kinsmen, and making a *Festschrift* a part of the commemoration; for this has the twofold advantage of extending the festivity to a much wider circle of his admirers,

and of leaving an enduring record of their esteem for the veteran author. Some fifty English and Continental scholars have joined their forces in producing the volume before us, which certainly forms a pleasing and appropriate offering to the founder of the Early English Text Society. If imitation be the sincerest flattery, this fresh contribution to that field in which Dr. Furnivall has laboured so long and so successfully is a more eloquent tribute than any number of panegyrics in his honour.

The purely personal element occupies but a small part of the volume, which opens with two brief poems by Mr. Saintsbury and Mr. Stopford Brooke, and closes with a Furnivall Bibliography and a simple account of the birthday commemoration. We cannot refrain from giving our readers a specimen of Mr. Saintsbury's verses, which are a singularly happy tribute to the man and his work :

*Litterae, Litteratura.* Well wot ye all, I trow,  
How he wrought at the speech of the kindreds, and gave us the  
same to know

In a hundred goodly volumes—they face me all of a row !

*Litteratus, Litterate.* And not for place or pay,  
But all for the fame of the English, he wrought in the English way,  
And his sheaves they follow, as his wage, at the closing of the day.

This praise is not less just than graceful ; for the lifelong labours of Dr. Furnivall form a goodly part of what may be called the English Renaissance.

In the earlier years of the nineteenth century Anglo-Saxon was regarded as a foreign tongue, and a knowledge of our mediæval literature was confined to a select company of specialists and antiquarians. This has happily been changed of late, and the change is largely due to the good work done by the society founded by Dr. Furnivall. This opening up of these neglected fields must be grateful to all scholars and lovers of literature. But for Catholic readers there is a further source of gratification ; for the literature in the early and middle English is the literature of Catholic England. This Catholic element, indeed, is well represented in the volume before us ; for among the most interesting papers in its pages we find "A Note on the Origin of the Liturgical Drama," some account of a Bodleian MS. work on penitence, which is regarded as "A New Source of the Parson's Tale," and a mystical mediæval poem now first edited from a British Museum MS. One stanza of this poem,

the twenty-seventh, may be cited here in illustration of early English devotion to our Lady :

Blyssede be that trewlufe so meke and so mylde :  
 Sekir and stedfaste and stabille at assaye :  
 When we hafe wrethede the thre leues with our werkes wilde :  
 The ferthe es gracious and gude for to helpe aye :  
 Than kneles that lady downe bfore hir dere childe :  
 And sare wepys for our sake with hir eghne graye :  
 Scho es euer fulle of grace, elles were we by-gylede :  
 Scho wynnes with hir wepyng many faire praye :

To kepe.

Sen scho es welle of oure wele,  
 And alle oure cares wille scho kele,  
 Allas, whi gare we hir knele,

And for oure werkes wepe ! (P. 126.)

To give the reader some notion of the varied interest of this volume, we may add that, along with these and other relics of mediæval religion, we find some of the contributors treating such subjects as "Panurge's English," "Anglo-Saxon Etymologies," "This too too solid flesh," and "A Source of Shelley's 'Alastor.'" Besides this, we have a translation of a scene from Ibsen's "Love's Comedy." Mr. Sidney Lee contributes an interesting paper on "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Playgoer." And M. Gaston, Paris, writes in French on "Amadas et Idoine." Some of the other papers are devoted to such purely philological subjects as English river names, and "E and Æ in the Vespasian Psalter."

The book, we may add, is printed with that elegance and accuracy which we have learnt to expect from the Clarendon Press. There are several plates, reproducing the text or illustrations of early MSS., and the frontispiece to the volume is a pleasing portrait of Dr. Furnivall, which recalls a phrase in Mr. Saintsbury's poem, "the good grey head we honour."

W. H. K.

**St. Francis of Assisi.** By the Rev. LÉOPOLD DE CHÉRANCÉ, O.S.F.C. Translated by R. F. O'CONNOR. Third Edition. Burns & Oates. Pp. 411. Price 3s. 6d.

**T**HAT the third edition of this Life of St. Francis has been called for betokens its popularity. Mr. O'Connor has done good service in rendering it into idiomatic English with just a smack of Gallicisms like "as wise as bold" here and there. A slight omission occurs on p. 42, where, speaking of Assisi, the text runs : "which (city) he had lately dazzled with



the splendour of his wealth and learned to know the inconstancy . . . of the world." Ought it not to be, "and *where he had learned* to know, etc."? St. Berardo, not Bernardo (p. 162), was one of the proto-martyrs of the Order; and p. 215, *loco* the Venerable, the Blessed John of Alverna should be read.

These slips apart, we have nothing but praise to bestow on the translation. It is otherwise with the author's handiwork; here we have every reason to complain of his practice of interweaving what is merely legendary with history without sharply marking off the line of demarcation. Thus, had he dwelt on the interview between St. Louis IX., King of France, and Brother Giles as a myth, no one would have quarrelled with his statement. He also makes assertions without backing them up with proofs. On p. 149, alluding to St. Bonaventure's attitude with regard to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he adds in a note: "the Seraphic Doctor . . . reverted to the traditions of the Order in his sermons and in the ordinance of the Chapters [*sic*] General." Now what are the facts? The sermon (not sermons) in question, one on the Assumption, is thus described by the present editors of St. Bonaventure's works (who are at work at Quaracchi, near Florence): "Nec iste sermo de B. M. Virgine, cujus insigne testimonium vulgo citatur, est certo genuinus, immo jam curatores vaticanae editiones ad marginem inter alia scripserunt: 'sermonem hunc B. Bonaventurae non esse, omnino fatendum est.'" As to the ordinance of the General Chapter held in 1263 at Pisa, under the presidency of Brother Bonaventure, it relates to the celebration of the Feast of the *Conception* of the Blessed Virgin.

Again, many of the details the author quotes of Duns Scotus celebrated defence, charming and glorious in themselves (says a *confrère* and fellow-countryman of Père Chérancé), are not in strict harmony with historical accuracy. Why is it that the author is so hard on M. Sabatier? He refers to him twice in his Preface, but grudgingly; and when he treats of the blessing of St. Francis to Brother Leo, he simply ignores the splendid vindication of this relic by the great French savant.

In conclusion, we may remark that Thomas Eccleston does not say that the friars came to England in 1224, but in the fourth year after Henry III.'s coronation, which is quite another matter, seeing that the King was crowned twice, once in 1216, again in 1220; and from intrinsic arguments it can be proved the first coronation is referred to.

F. A.

**St. Antony of Padua.** By Mrs. ARTHUR BELL. London: Sands & Co. 1901. Pp. 166.

**T**HIS is assuredly an artistic Life of the sweet Franciscan Saint: it tells the familiar story of that short, but beneficent career with a descriptive power and purity of diction the absence of which we have too often to deplore in works dedicated to his memory. It is furthermore daintily printed, and illustrated with gems of art, selected, be it known, from such old masters as Paul Veronese, Murillo, &c.

A quotation from one of St. Antony's sermons is pleasant reading. He was called by common consent the Vigorous Hammer of the Heretics; yet, as is here shown, he deprecated violence, and avoided extreme measures, never advocating the usual punishments of prison or death—which, to say the least, is very remarkable in such an age as the thirteenth century. Is not the authoress responsible for a slight confusion of names when she traces the origin of the Augustinian Canons to the saintly Archbishop of Canterbury rather than to St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo? We fear that had our Saint's mortification been of a suicidal nature, he would never have been raised to the altars of the Church. The translation of the miraculous hymn, "Si Quaeris," by Gilbert St. Quintin Jones, as a note says, is the best we have seen, and we accordingly reproduce it:

If for miracles ye ask,  
See how death and error flee!  
Devils fail their noisome task,  
Powerless all calamity.

The sick are raised to health; in vain  
Waters rage and fetters bind,  
Vanished limbs and goods again  
Old and young do seek and find.

Perils no longer work their harm,  
Poverty doth pass away.  
Let them tell who feel the charm,  
Let the men of Padua say!

This hymn, however, was in vogue long before the translation of the relics, even before 1249, and St. Bonaventure did not compose it, but Julian of Spire did.

F. A.

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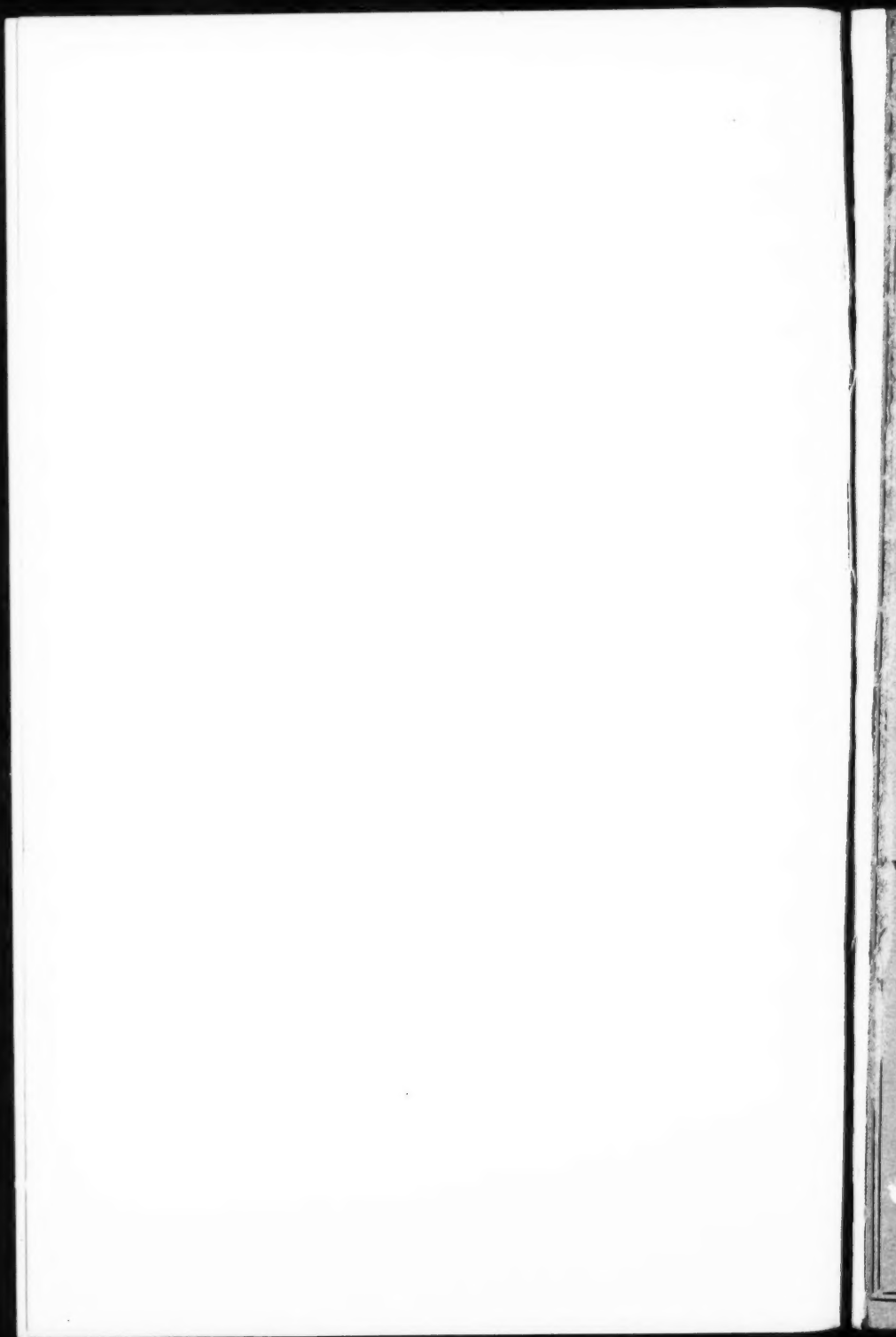
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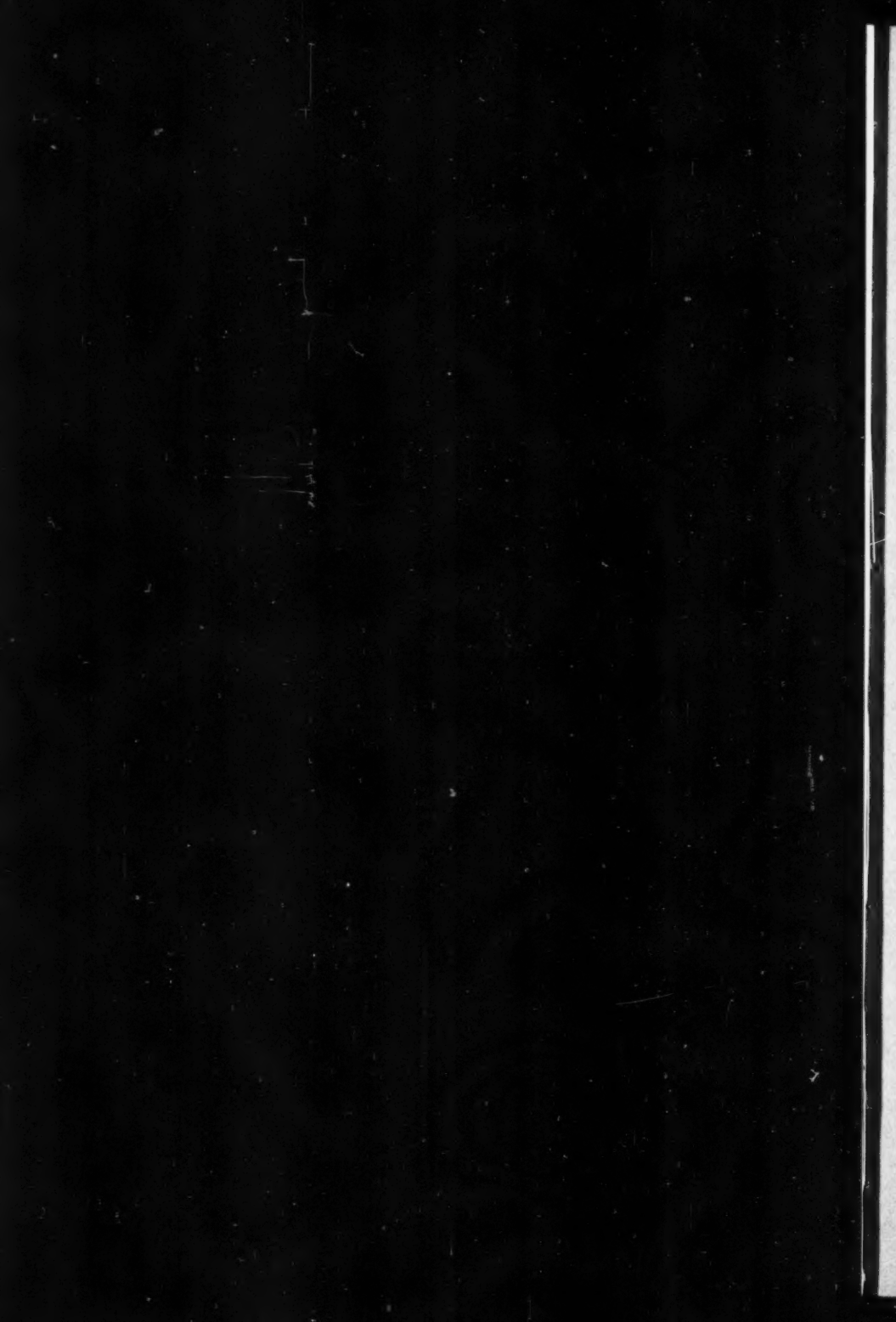
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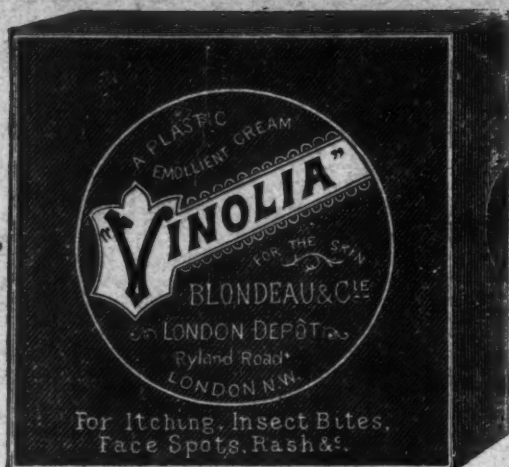
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